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Yugoslavia

International—UN Under Secretary Goulding arrived in Belgrade on 26 January and met with SFRY Vice President Branko Kostic and Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic to discuss "the existing obstacles" to the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces, according to TANJUG. Kostic said later at a news conference that "the deployment of the peacekeeping forces means the end of war and the establishment of peace, and not a political settlement; the Blue Helmets will remain until a political solution is found."

Bosnia-Hercegovina—After almost 16 hours of debate the assembly voted to endorse a referendum on the republic's sovereignty and independence scheduled for 29 February and 1 March. Serbian members of the assembly rejected the referendum and refused to show up at the 26 January session resulting in the session's postponement, reports TANJUG. Instead the Assembly of the Serb Nation of Bosnia-Hercegovina met in an emergency session to review the legality of the the referendum decision.

Croatia—President Franjo Tudjman appointed Major General Imre Agotic commander of the Air Force on 21 January, TANJUG reports. This move follows a report by the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI that "thirty-eight Soviet-made MiG fighter planes have been placed at the disposal of the Croatian Army." The daily cites "well-informed sources" that the planes are at the former "East German and Soviet Army Rostok military base in northern Germany." According to TANJUG, the deal for an airfield, planes, and other equipment struck between President Tudjman and the Bonn government, was "drawn up in Wiesbaden and given the codename 'Alarm'." The planes "will arrive at the airports in Rijeka, Pula and Zagreb soon."

Poland

At a 26 January news conference in Legnica, Commonwealth of Independent States General Victor Dubynin stated that all Northern Group combat units of the "Soviet Armed Forces" will be withdrawn by 15 November 1992, reports Warsaw TV. Dubynin also "assured" that "the withdrawal of the Northern Group of the armed forces will be kept even if the Polish side does not sign an agreement on the principles and manner of withdrawal of the forces."

Warsaw radio reports that a "small storm has blown up" because Dubynin accused the Polish side and Lieutenant General Ostrowski, of "delaying the agreement deadline in his statement." Government press spokesman Marcin Gugulski says that Dubynin was "completely at variance with the truth in accusing the Polish Government... for the delay." In fact, Gugulski said that the Polish Government presented the USSR Government a draft agreement in 1990 and "was then ready to sign it immediately." The "cause of the delay" he pointed out, is "not to be found on the Polish side."

Czechoslovakia

In his weekly interview with Prague radio, President Vaclav Havel commented on the Federal Assembly's rejection of several of his draft bills saying that the there is "no conflict between the parliament and the president." "This is a conflict within the parliament." On the Czechoslovak state "collapsing" he said that he does not yet see signs that "the end of the common state" is imminent. He also remarked that he does not have "big illusions" about his election bill.

Alia Urges 'No Mercy' for Violators of Law

AU2501151292 Tirana ATA in English 1133 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 25 (ATA) — On January 24, the president of the Republic Ramiz Alia met in his seat with representatives of the Ministry of Public Order, organs of justice and the national information service.

At the beginning of the meeting, President Ramiz Alia said that he has received many letters, requests, complaints from various organizations, trade unions and citizens, voicing their worry for the growth of criminality. In this meeting we shall discuss how to judge on the situation and what measures should be taken to establish order, tranquillity, which the people, homeland and nation rightfully demand.

The attending ministers made an expose of the grave situation of the country. They mentioned the factors of the created situations, the mass character of crime and stressed the need of coordination with the organs of investigation and justice. They said among others that police should create its investigation office to follow the crimes pertaining to its level. They stressed that the shortcomings should be found first of all at the lack of the preventing war, the non observation of the existing legislation.

Analysing the causes of the low effectivity of the organs of police, investigations and justice, those present at the meeting raised also the question of creating a general political atmosphere against criminals, ill-doers and law violators, defending those who observe the law.

At the end of the meeting, President Ramiz Alia said among others:

The order is not functioning properly. There is a general insecurity. Inhuman crimes are committed and their authors are not found. The investigation and the trying of the culprits by the organs of justice are slow and without energy, in most cases late in results. From a number of cases it is created the opinion that one can act against the law and not be punished. This increases the anguish among the citizens. Sluggishness in the results of justice have stirred up revenge. Hence, a crime produces another crime and so on. The forces of order and the national information service have all possibilities and means to hit and paralyse the criminal, injurious and illegal activity. Nothing justifies sluggishness, indifferentism and the paralysis of the forces of order.

The criminal acts cannot be stopped by imploring. The unhesitating punishment of those who steal, violate, speculate, kill and set on fire is part of democracy. Who tries that with its name to legalise every evil somebody likes to do and every violation of the laws compromises democracy from the bud.

The people are tired from every point of view and it is the task of the power organs to return in them the security of life and the hope for the morrow. Democracy means that freedom and well-being of each one which bring about freedom and well-being for all.

Everybody demands the punishment of the ill-doers. The justice and organs of order should consolidate their shaking figure putting an end to the prolonged processes, sluggishness and tolerances. No mercy towards those who terrorize the people, who commit criminal acts, towards ill-doers and those who violate the law. Law should be applied immediately for everybody.

Democratic Party Condemns Recent 'Criminal Acts'

AU2501164392 Tirana ATA in English 1026 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 25 (ATA) — The Democratic Party [DP] expresses its profound indignation for the recent ugly criminal acts, committed in Tirana, in the oil bearing fields and other places. Such acts have aroused the all-national indignation. The DP condemns forcefully these criminal acts that throw mud at our democracy. It appeals to the democratic forces in Albania to condemn them and it appeals to the forces of order and justice to adopt all measures to discover and punish severely the culprits, guaranteeing these forces that in this activity they will have the full support of the Democratic Party and of the entire Albanian democratic public opinion. It demands, at the same time, from the Ministry of Public Order to act towards those who are indifferent in the observation of law and legislation.

Democracy and crime have nothing in common and do not reconcile with each other. Peace and tranquility should dominate in this period of transition.

'Terrorists' Prevent Socialist Party Meeting

LD2501174692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1651 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Ohrid, Jan 25 (TANJUG)—A larger group of demonstrators last night prevented president of the ruling Socialist Party of Albania (former Communists) Fatos Nano from holding a meeting at the local party headquarters at Bajram Curri, a town in the north of the country, as Albanian TV reported this morning. Albanian television quoted a statement of the Albanian Ministry of Public Law and Order as saying that a "larger group of political terrorists" organized an "illegal counter-rally" in Bajram Curri.

The police tried to intervene, as Albanian TV said in the broadcast monitored in the Yugoslav town of Ohrid, but the crowd broke through the cordon. The demonstrators carried placards and chanted slogans against communism and Fatos Nano. The Albanian TV report said nothing about the consequences of the clash between the demonstrators and the police, except that Nano's official car was damaged. The police have taken steps to identify the organizers of the "illegal counter-rally," as reported.

Skender Gjinushi Reelected PSDSh Chairman

AU2601171692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Sokol Perihati report]

[Text] Representatives of the district branches of the Social Democratic Party [PSDSh], delegates, and Rrapo Guri, editor in chief of the newspaper ALTERNATIVA SD, spoke at today's session of the party congress, chaired by Gaqo Apostoli.

They spoke about the work done to apply the party's program and the role of the intelligentsia in promoting democratic processes, and emphasized the value of the PSDSh's alliance with other parties, the role of the press in spreading social democratic ideas among the working masses, etc.

Mr. Gjergj Kondo, minister of the economy; and Mr. Iljaz Mehmeti, minister of food and light industry; were invited to the congress. They spoke about the country's economic crisis, the application of the reforms, and the transition of our economy toward a market economy. Valter File, chairman of the Albanian Liberal Party; Minela Kureta, chairman of the League of Independent Trade Unions of Communal and Handicraft Workers; Shkelzen Maliqi, chairman of the Kosovo Social Democratic Party; (?Dimitris Baselis), member of the delegation of the Greek PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement]; Hysen Sheheri, representative of the Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions and spokesman for religious problems; and others greeted the PSDSh's First Congress.

The congress then held an open session in the square in front of the Higher Institute of Arts, in which delegates, residents of Tirana, members and supporters of the PSDSh, students, and others took part. The meeting was greeted by Sefedin (?Xhemali), chairman of the PSDSh's Tirana Branch; Jean Albouix, representative of the French Socialist Party; Myftar Zymberi, representative of the political parties of the Republic of Kosovo and of other Albanians living in former Yugoslavia; (?Schmidt Necker), representative of the German Social Democratic Party; PASOK representative (?Iannis Yeoryios); and Professor Dr. Ylli Vejsiu, representative of the Democratic Party.

Greeting those present, Dr. Skender Gjinushi said that we are at one of the culminating points in Albania's history, where we are asked whether we will finally embark on the road of democracy or remain under dictatorship and whether we will establish a new kind of state or leave ourselves in the hands of the faithful disciples of Enver Hoxha. There is a short answer: Victory belongs to the genuine opposition and to democracy. Victory is on the side of the people. We have had enough of deception, dogma, and promises. The PSDSh's First Congress, Mr. Gjinushi emphasized, supports any form of cooperation or alliance that will lead to the victory of democracy. No party interest counts for anything compared with a common triumph. The PSDSh now has about 25,000 members and about 1,500 sections. In conclusion, Dr. Skender Gjinushi told people to trust the PSDSh. Albania will become like Europe. The Albanian question will find the solution it deserves. The Albanians will assume their proper place and will gain once and for all the freedom and prosperity they deserve.

Later, at the final session, delegates examined the congress documents. They approved the PSDSh's Program and Statute as well as three resolutions on the party's stand in the coming electoral campaign, the national cause, and foreign policy.

In conclusion, the congress elected party officials, including a 79-member Managing Committee and its Presidium. Professor Dr. Skender Gjinushi was reelected party chairman. Teodor Laco and Haxhi Aliko were elected deputy chairmen. Lisen Bashkurti was elected general secretary. The congress elected Mr. Shkelzen Maliqi, chairman of the Kosovo Social Democratic Party, an honorary member of the PSDSh.

Trade Unions Condemn 'Initiating Commission'

AU2601161592 Tirana ATA in English 0928 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 26 (ATA)—The first national meeting of the Union of Independent Trade Unions of Albania (UITUA) was held in Tirana on January 25.

After the approval of the agenda and the contributions for the Presidium of the meeting, due to debates, exchange of repliques which led to aggravations,the meeting was interrupted and after a pause of 45 minutes, the meeting resumed. Since the meeting opened with the discussion on the act of a small group of the Initiating Commission of the UITUA and their statement of January 22, 1992, Ferdinand Temali, member of the Initiating Commission took the floor. He made explanations regarding the statement of January 22, which this group considers as illegitimate the Executive Commission of the UITUA and its self-elected chairman Valer Xheka, on the basis of the statute adopted by the Ministry of Justice.

Further on, representative from districts and industrial centers of the country took the floor. Almost all of them condemned the antidemocratic actions and insisted in the realisation of eight demands addressed to the government, they voiced the opinions of the trade union organizations they represent on the consolidation of the unity in the ranks of the trade union movement, denouncing actions and practices which led to splits.

The chairman of the Executive Commission of the UITUA, Valer Xheka, in his address considered as slander made for posts the actions and statement of the so-called Initiating Commission group. He considered the statement of January 22 as groundless from the juridical point of view and proposed the organizers of these actions be

expelled from the ranks of the trade union organization. All actions carried out by the Executive Committee of the UITUA, he said, are approved in a collegial way and elections and voting for the high leading organs are made according to respective procedures.

Further on leaders of various trade unions spoke. Members of the Initiating Commission group who took the floor reiterated the claims forwarded in the statement of January 22.

At the end, the national meeting decided that the Leading Council of the UITUA should convene to adopt the respective decisions. It decided to denounce the actions carried out by a small group of 5-6 initiators who aimed to disorientate the broad trade union masses and to recommend to the Leading Council of the UITUA for Tirana to expel from this Council Eqrem Kavaja, Gezim Kalaja, and Luftim Ahmetaj. The Council decided also to release from the post of the editor in chief of the newspaper "SINDIKALISTI" Vangjel Kozmaj.

The Leading Council of the UITUA unanimously decided that the first national conference of the UITUA convene in Tirana on February 10, 1992 and to support the democratic forces in the coming elections.

Hospitals Protest Lack of Electricity, Ambulances

AU2601194392

[Editorial report] Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian at 1430 GMT on 26 January carries a six-minute Bujar Stefani report on the "difficult situation" in the emergency departments of Tirana hospitals, with interviews with members of the hospital staff.

Stefani states: "Many Tirana families are spending the night without light. The situation is the same in the hospitals, including the emergency departments. This is causing concern among the staff and doctors, but the problem is still not being solved. Meanwhile, Tirana's emergency departments have been without lighting for 10 days."

In a recorded interview, department chief Demir Demaj states: "Eighty percent of the ambulances are out of action. We also have problems due to the lack of electricity. We share the grief of the family of Bruno Sula, who was criminally murdered. We are thinking of one thing: During these long winter nights, another problem facing all Albania with its economic problems is the lack of electricity. Many people, old people and our brothers and sisters, lack heating." "I therefore wish to issue a humanitarian appeal for help in ensuring electricity, not simply for heating, but to enable us to use medical equipment to come to the help of our bothers, sisters, fathers, grandparents, and children." Demaj states: "We have twelve working ambulances. The others lack spare parts and have defects accumulated over the years." Stefani suggests that "This has happened at a time when crime is rising. Cases of assault have increased that require your intervention, and your help depends on more ambulances." Demaj replies, "For me as a doctor and for all of us, it is a crime to attack an ambulance or medical personnel."

Mete Ibrahimi, chairman of the hospital's Independent Trade Union and "one of Tirana's best-known ambulance drivers," complains in a recorded interview about the theft of his ambulance's headlights, and states: "Terrorists come out in front of us on the streets, seize us by force, and steal our vehicles." "I am in solidarity with the electricity workers' strike. What happened to one of them could happen to one of us. One of our workers or a doctor could be a victim of this kind of violence."

Defense Ministry on Army's Role in Stability

AU2501144892 Tirana ATA in English 1018 GMT 25 Jan 92

["Announcement of the Ministry of Defence"]

[Text] Tirana, January 25 (ATA) — The minister of defence Alfred Moisiu inspected the military effectives in the garrison of Saranda. Mr. Moisiu had a working meeting with the commands and staffs of the units of the division of Delvina. Present in the meeting were also commanders and main chiefs of the units deployed in the south of the country.

During the meeting were treated of questions that have to do with the consolidation of rule and discipline, the guarantee of the regime of the land and sea border, the maintenance of armament, intensification of training, the welcome of the young solders, the exemplary realisation of the tasks on the part of the Army effectives to ensure the ports, distribute the aids, transport the heating woods for population, etc.

In his address, Mr. Alfred Moisiu drew the attention of the commands and staffs for a better understanding of the democratic processes going on in our country and the role the Army should play in the democratic system. In this system, he underlined, especially at its beginning, the Army should be consolidated before the other sectors and make its powerful contribution also to the stability of the country's life. It is a known fact, he continued, that the broader the democracy in a state, the more discipline should exist in its Army.

He spoke also of the need of a more real valuation of the situation in the region, not only in the northern borders of the country, but also in its south. Regarding these developments, the Army should adopt the proper measures for the consolidation of vigilance and readiness of every unit and the Army in general by eliminating as soon as possible every shortcoming in this direction. For the Army the interests of the nation and people are above everything.

Alia Discusses Yugoslavia With Ambassadors

AU2601161192 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 26 (ATA)—The representative of the Press and Information Office at the President of the Republic told the ATA correspondent that the president of the Republic, Ramiz Alia, received in separate meetings, on their request, the ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of France, the Federal German Republic, the Russian Federation, and the Republic of Italy accredited to our country.

The ambassadors voiced their satisfaction for the improvements of health of the president, who on this occasion thanked them for the interest taken since the beginning for his quick recovery, considering this as a human care and friendly expression.

They in these meetings talked of the consolidation of the bilateral relations as well as on problems of the present international situation. In particular opinions were exchanged on the grave situation in the former Yugoslavia and the difficult situation of the Albanians in these territories.

President Ramiz Alia reiterated that by leaving in oblivion the question of the Albanians in Yugoslavia peace and stability in the region and broader is not guaranteed. The Yugoslav crisis demands a complete solution, every partial solution, he said, leaves pending questions. The recognition of the Republic of Kosovo and other national and human rights of all the Albanians beyond the border is an obligation of all the people with democratic consciousness.

Chief of Staff Karoli Assesses Visit to Turkey

AU2601195092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Interview with Army Chief of Staff Kostaq Karoli by Sokol Perihati at Rinas Airport on 26 January — recorded]

[Text] [Perihati] The high-ranking military delegation headed by Army Chief of Staff Major-General Kostaq Karoli, which paid an official and friendly visit to the Republic of Turkey at the invitation of the General Staff of the Turkish Army, returned home this afternoon. Defense Minister Alfred Moisiu; Deputy Army Chiefs of Staff Colonel Qatip Alia and Colonel Ndricim Karakashi; Anton Puka, director at the Foreign Ministry; and high-ranking Defense Ministry officials came to Rinas Airport to meet Major-General Karoli and those accompanying them.

We obtained the following interview at the airport with Mr. Karoli. General Karoli, radio listeners will be interested to learn whether your important visit achieved its purpose.

[Karoli] Our visit to Turkey fully achieved its purpose. We exchanged views on further cooperation in military relations. We encountered understanding in all our problems, and I hope that this will continue. I wish to stress that the welcome accorded to our delegation wherever we went, and by all the members of the Turkish Armed Forces and the highest-ranking Turkish leaders, including President Turgut Ozal and the defense minister, was fraternal, very warm, and sincere.

[Perihati] During your talks with high-ranking Turkish Army officials, was the possibility and alternative of Albania's becoming a future NATO member raised, considering that Turkey is an important NATO member?

[Karoli] We all witnessed the meetings we held and the decisions that were made. As for NATO membership, everything is decided mutually.

[Perihati] So there is no question of this.

[Karoli] It was purely the question of military cooperation between Albania and Turkey. It is my view that, considering the traditions, customs, and understanding that our peoples share, there is room to pursue this further.

Zhelev Accused of Disregard for Constitution

AU2401140192 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Jan 92 p 8

[Article by Vanyo Stoilov: "It Seems That, After the Presidential Elections, 'Constitution' Will More Than Ever Sound Like a Dirty Word"]

[Text] In the heat of the midnight news conference given by the winners of the presidential elections, Father Khristofor [Subev] silently crept behind Mr. Zhelev's back and smugly handed him a copy of the Bible. The surprised president accepted the gift with a handshake and a bow, as if he had just been presented with the first prize of a "Mr. Bulgaria" beauty contest. Nevertheless, the people who attended this amusing little scene asked themselves, whether it would not have been more appropriate for the president to be presented with a copy of the Bulgarian Republic's Constitution instead.

Later on, things went even further, when a reporter of the daily OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK assumed the role and functions of parliament, which is the only institution entitled to amend our Constitution at a two-third majority, by proposing that the president should take his oath on the Bible instead of the Constitution. For the time being, the good doctor refused to do so, but it is already evident that a president of the entire nation cannot be a true head of state for all his people and unite the nation unless he swears simultaneously on the Bible and the Koran.

On the same day the entire Bulgarian people understood that Vice President Blaga Dimitrova has not renounced her curse on the deputies who signed the present Constitution, and that she hopes for an amendment to the Constitution rather than an amendment of the oath. She cited the Turnovo Constitution as an exmple, but the lady failed to explain her attitude to the monarchy, which is the correct form of state administration according to that document.

Some time later, the president himself, in a conversation with Mr. Garelov [a well-known Bulgarian journalist] reprimanded the Grand National Assembly for having adopted the Constitution while neglecting other important bills likely to change the system, such as the privatization bill. He overlooked the fact that the Grand National Assembly was convened at the request of the Union of Democratic Forces and that as such its chief task was the adoption of the new Constitution.

A short while before that, the listeners of the Radio Free Europe "Bulgaria" Studio learned from the a statement of Mr. Ivan Glushkov, a well-known democrat, that Velko Vulkanov's argument according to which he has no program as presidential candidate because he has adopted the Constitution as his program, is simply ridiculous.

On the basis of all these facts, unbiased observers can only forecast that the word constitution is now more than ever likely to become a dirty word in Bulgaria, all the more so since this word will forever remind the honorable president of his unsuccessful search for an oath form during a television debate that some ill-intentioned viewers may compare with the unsuccessful search of our head of state for a handkerchief during his first speech at the United Nations in New York a year and a half ago, when the speaker was desperately searching his pockets for this precious object while addressing the General Assembly.

As far as the president's oath on the new Constitution is concerned, there is still another opinion which so far was not heard. It is the question of Zhelyu Zhelev taking his oath on the Constitution together with the National Assembly deputies in parliament, which he did, however, by standing in the presidential box on the balcony of the hall. This means that he was turning his back to the members of parliament instead of facing them. According to some people this act raises some questions.

Nevertheless, one important conclusion prevails after all we saw and heard on election night. It is the wish: God save the Constitution!

Tsanev Appointed New Deputy Interior Minister

AU2401195392 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—Mr. Dimitur Tsvetanov Tsanev has been appointed deputy minister of the interior, the Office of the Spokesman of the Ministry told BTA. Mr. Dimitur Tsanev was born on January 13, 1942 in Sofia. He graduated in history from the Sofia Kliment Okhridski University. He has worked as an archivist at the St. Kiril and Metodi National Library and as a lecturer at the Department of History of the Sofia University. In 1977 he defended a dissertation on the subject "Bulgarian Historical Literature in the First Half of the 19th Century." He is author of a number of scientific publications on the Bulgarian national revival. He has worked at universities in France, Britain and Greece. For two years he was guest professor of Bulgarian and Balkan history in Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania (United States) where he taught modern Bulgarian history.

Mr. Dimitur Tsanev is married and has one child. He speaks English, French and Russian.

Commission Notes 'No Serious Breaches' in Election

AU2401164092 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Jan 92 p 1

[Zoya Nestorova report]

[Text] According to a general assessment made by the Central Electoral Commission, up to 1600 GMT, the election day passed off with no serious breaches. The commission's complaints group received warnings that at some polling stations in Sofia, Vidin, and Pleven, the white ballot paper of Velko Vulkanov and Rumen

Vodenicharov had been replaced by white ballots of other teams of candidates from the first round. Ms. Ralitsa Negentsova, spokesman of the Central Electoral Commission, declared that a check made at the polling station of the 25th Sofia Electoral District established that when the packets of ballot papers were opened, white ballot papers were found bearing the name of Andon Donchev, but these ballots did not reach the voting room.

It was explained that, under the Law on Electing the President and Vice President, all white ballot papers bearing the names of other teams of candidates who took part in the first round are considered invalid, whereas white ballot papers bearing no names are accepted as valid, because this is regarded as a printing error. In connection with the radio report that following a substitution of ballot papers at a Sofia polling station one of the candidates for president and vice president permitted himself to enter the voting room, Ms. Negentsova explained that this matter is not covered by the legislation, that is, the law contains no clause prohibiting such an act.

Vulkanov Staff Protests to Electoral Commission

AU2401152692 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Jan 92 p 1

["DUMA PRESS" report]

[Text] A protest sent by the staff of Vulkanov and the staff of Blagovest Sendov to the Central Electoral Commission states that, by mixing the white ballot paper of the Vulkanov-Vodenicharov team with invalid ballots of other candidates from the first round of the elections, an undoubted attempt is being made to disregard the voter's choice, by relying on lack of attention and poor eyesight. The Law on Elections of National Assembly Deputies, Municipal Councillors, and Mayors defines the cases in which ballot papers are considered to be invalid, and the decision of the Central Electoral Commission regarding white ballot papers with other names as invalid clearly conflicts with these clauses. The Central Electoral Commission's decision becomes even more dubious when one considers that it was announced on the Saturday preceding the elections, thus giving the Vulkanov-Vodenicharov team no opportunity to appeal to the Supreme Court. In addition to the foregoing, appended to the protest declaration is a list of dozens of polling stations in which such false ballot papers were found.

The Central Electoral Commission refused to examine the matter, despite the evident risk of vitiating the election result. A woman representative of the commission told a "DUMA" reporter that the claims maid by Vulkanov and Vodenicharov were illegal, and that the commission was sick and tired of receiving protests from various persons acting on behalf of others, among whom she evidently included the "DUMA" reporter. The lady replaced her telephone receiver when she was politely asked to give her name.

The Central Electoral Commission has also received protests on the same matter from the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy; from Elisaveta Milenova, chairman of the Christian Women's Movement; from the Democratic Party in Bulgaria; from the "Stefan Stambolov" People's Liberal Party; and from the Bulgarian Liberal Party.

Interior Minister Answers Questions on Dismissals

AU2401134892 Sofia BTA in English 1252 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—Eighty-one employees of the Ministry of the Interior have been dismissed, Mr. Yordan Sokolov, minister of the interior, told parliament today in reply to an interpellation. This is the second time he reported in parliament on the personnel changes in his ministry. The pro-socialist press keeps accusing him of carrying out purges.

He pointed out that on the average 1.5 per 1,000 had been dismissed. Of the 81 employees dismissed, 51 were pensioned, two of them left at their own will and the remaining 28 were dismissed for reasons of health or for other reasons preventing them to perform their duties.

Those protesting against the changes in the Ministry of the Interior are circles and political forces who considered the ministry to be the vanguard of the Communist Party and seem to have forgotten it was depoliticized, Mr. Sokolov told parliament.

The changes were prompted by the inadequacy of the security forces and their inability to cope with the growing criminality. Improving the situation required personnel changes first, Mr. Sokolov explained.

Eighteen of the employees dismissed were involved in the so-called "regeneration process," i.e. the coercive change of ethnic Turks' names in the 1984-1985 period. They were conferred distinctions by a special governmental decree. Before his appointment as interior minister, Mr. Sokolov maintained that the regeneration process was the commu the Bulgarian people [sentence as received]. "The dismissal of participants in the regeneration process is the least they can be punished by."

Finance Minister Answers Questions on Budget

AU2401173492 Sofia BTA in English 1551 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—The Ministry of Finance is facing a dilemma related to budget outlays: It is either money for the pensioners and social defence, or real concern about the active population and funds for job creation, Finance Minister Ivan Kostov told parliament today, asked by Mr. Georgi Pirinski MP [member of parliament] of the Socialist Party about the role of the budget this year in halting unemployment and its reduction.

The finance minister stressed that the resolution of this dilemma rests with parliament, warning that should the National Assembly move for additional social insurance, these outlays would trigger off a new leap in unemployment. Mr. Kostov cited as an example a bill introduced by the Socialist MP's on the allocation of an additional 7,000 million lev for pension schemes. 7,000 million lev amount to 150,000 new jobs, Mr. Kostov said.

According to him, unemployment in this country is the product of an ineffective economic structure orientated to the wrong foreign partners by the former state leaders.

The finance minister told the MP's that besides the tax concessions to private producers envisaged in different acts, the Value Added Tax [VAT] Bill exempts from VAT companies with a turnover of up to 1.5 million lev. The Ministry of Finance is considering the possibility to exempt for a certain period private companies from taxes on ploughed back profits. This would create an opportunity for private producers to open new jobs.

Labor Minister on Measures To Reduce Unemployment

AU2401173292 Sofia BTA in English 1547 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, if the present rate of unemployment persists, the number of unemployed in 1992 will rise from 350,000 to 750,000. An active policy on the part of the government might soften the impact of this process, Mr. Vekil Vanov said answering a question by an MP [member of parliament].

He said that a comprehensive programme will be worked out by the end of February which will include the following measures: job creation, establishment of a legal and institutional basis to induce a rise in employment, control over the process of closing down inefficient enterprises, provision of incentives for the jobless to start their own businesses, opportunities for greater mobility and retraining of the workforce for its adaptation to the requirements of the labour market. The ministry intends to work out different schemes for young people, highly-qualified specialists, long-term unemployed and partially disabled people.

At the beginning of March the government will introduce a bill on employment regulating the rights and duties of employers in opening new jobs and providing professional training, Mr. Vanov said.

This is the third time Mr. Vanov has appeared in parliament to inform the MP's about the state, problems and government measures in the social sphere.

Zhelev Defends Early Recognition of Macedonia

AU2401175692 Sofia BTA in English 1633 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—"The Bulgarian Government did the right thing recognizing the four republics on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. This position is a matter of principle and I think, it will be proved right by later developments," Bulgarian President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said.

In an interview for Radio Free Europe broadcast today Dr. Zhelev stressed that it was very important for Bulgaria to be the first country to recognize the Republic of Macedonia, demonstrating in this way its disinterestedness in respect to this country and the European character of the Bulgarian policy in solving Balkan problems.

In the 50-minute interview taken by Radio Free Europe journalist Rumyana Uzunova President Zhelev expresses his regret that Bulgaria's recognition of Macedonia provoked certain tension in Bulgarian-Greek relations. He believes, however, that this tension will soon disperse. "Greece has no reason whatsoever to feel offended," Dr. Zhelev said. "There is no stopping people who want independence and sovereignty."

According to the president, "the Bulgarian move actually contributes to Balkan stability because the recognition of the four republics stabilizes the situation in the former Yugoslavia."

Should we have waited for bloodshed in Macedonia and only then recognize its independence, Dr. Zhelev asks Bulgaria's critics. According to him, "everything is perfect in Macedonia. Its people took an active part in the referendum and expressed their will in accordance with democratic standards."

Ministry Denies Training Men for Macedonian Army

AU2301191492 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—In connection with the allegations made in the Belgrade "POLITIKA" paper that the Bulgarian military academies train personnel for the Macedonian Army, today Major General Stoimen Stoimenov, official spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, stated the following:

"I categorically reject the allegations that citizens from other countries, including Macedonia, are trained at the Bulgarian G.S. Rakovski Military Academy. The military academy trains only Bulgarians to meet the needs of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bulgaria.

"The allegations that mercenaries and soldiers are trained or have been trained to fight against the Yugoslav Army at special camps on the territory of Bulgaria are entirely fabricated and untrue," General Stoimenov told an official of the Press Centre of the Ministry of Defence.

Parties Defend SFRY Bulgarian Minority

AU2401203092 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Nikolay Kitsevski report: "Thousands of Bulgarians Disappear in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Belgrade, January 24 (BTA)—The leaderships of four parties from the Yugoslav town of Bosilegrad: the Socialist Party, the Democratic Party, the Union of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia and the Democratic Union of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, have issued a statement denying a publication in the Belgrade newspaper "POLITIKA EKSPRES" according to which the Bulgarian minority in Serbia is a breeding ground for fascism. The newspaper charges that the Democratic Union of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia is a fascist party and that its activists have distributed "parcels sent by NATO."

"Defending its national rights within Serbia the Bulgarian nationality achieved an all-round development. That is why no one has the right to question or doubt the unbreakable relations between this nationality and the Serbian people," it is said in the statement by the leaderships of the four parties in Bosilegrad, a municipality densely populated by Bulgarians.

The fact that the towns in which Bulgarians live: Bosilegrad, Dimitrovgrad, Babushnitsa and Surdulitsa, are among the most backward in the republic speaks volumes for the "all-round development of the Bulgarian nationality." Some 10,000 Bulgarians have disappeared over the last 10 years.

According to the 1991 census, the total number of Bulgarians living in Serbia is 25,214 while in 1981 they were 35,269.

Interior Minister Speaks on Turkish Border Dispute

AU2401172692 Sofia BTA in English 1613 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—"ZEMYA" wrote earlier this month that "Turkey has seized 10,000 sq m of Bulgarian territory in the Svilengrad area." Mr. Sokolov, minister of the interior, today answered a question by Socialist MP's [member of parliament] about the truth of this information.

Mr. Sokolov said that a 1 ha [hectare] area on both sides of the Bulgarian-Turkish border has indeed been levelled. A special Bulgarian-Turkish border commission has discussed the restoration of the border but the two countries have different views on the place of the border line. Turkey recognizes the 1934 map with the motive that the 1959-1962 map was not ratified by the two countries' competent authorities. Bulgaria maintains that the 1934 map is not accurate enough and has initiated a procedure on the ratification of the more recent map.

The bilateral commission has fixed May as the deadline for the competent authorities to agree on the delimitation of the border between the levelled border signs.

Parliament will probably resume debates on the "ZEMYA" publication next week. The Socialist MP's have moved that a special parliamentary commission of inquiry be set up to verify the newspaper's allegations.

Zhelev Comments on Relations With ROK, DPRK

SK2401140092 Seoul KBS-1 Television Network in Korean 1100 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Interview with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev by KBS correspondent O Kon-hwan at presidential office in Sofia on 24 January—recorded; Zhelev answers in Bulgarian, with Korean subtitles provided]

[Text] [O Kon-hwan] First of all, I would like to congratulate you on being elected as the first president through direct elections in the history of Bulgaria. What is the most pressing task Bulgaria faces?

[Zhelyu Zhelev] Thank you. As president, the important task is to continue promoting economic reform. However, since summer, economic reform has been suspended. Economic reform is very important and is the decisive key in resolving political and social issues.

[O] The ROK is showing much interest in participating in Bulgaria's economic reform. Do you have any specific plans to promote economic relations with the ROK?

[Zhelev] There was no special position regarding the ROK up to now. Since the ROK has potential, we are interested in it. If the ROK invests in Bulgaria, I believe that good results will be achieved.

[O] Recently, the ROK and North Korea have been concentrating on efforts to achieve reunification. I believe that last year many results were achieved. You have been continuing to maintain relations with North Korea as in the past. I think that Bulgaria may be able to indirectly support us in our efforts to achieve reunification. What is your opinion?

[Zhelev] We have continued to support reunification on the Korean peninsula. Because the division of the North and South is the last relic of World War II, I believe that reunification will be achieved soon. We will actively support this. Reunification is a delicate and difficult task, but we will support it and offer suggestions to achieve reunification. Because the division of the North and South is abnormal, I believe that reunification must be achieved within this century.

[O] Thank you for your time.

Dienstbier Praises Conference on Aid to CIS

LD2401163892 Prague CSTK in English 1300 GMT 24 GMT Jan

[Text] Washington Jan 24 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier today told CSTK that assistance to the former Soviet Union does not mean a single aid package but will become part of settling the country's basic problems.

Dienstbier participated in a two-day conference in Washington on humanitarian assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States.

On the subject of the triangular plan (financial support for the former Soviet Union to enable the country to import goods from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland), Dienstbier said "the idea of transforming the post-communist world starts to take root... the idea of triangular assistance does not concern only Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, but has already been joined by Bulgaria and partially Romania... the democracy zone must be further expanded eastwards, as far as possible", Dienstbier said.

The Commonwealth of Independent States must start creating its own capital to encourage the activities of the businesses because business people will decide about the political and economic changes in the country, he said.

'Triangular Plan' Accepted

LD2401212392 Prague CSTK in English 2037 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Prague Jan 24 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier's "triangular plan" of aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has been accepted and talks have begun between Czechoslovak experts and the European Community on medical supplies to the CIS, journalists learnt today.

Egon Lansky, the spokesman for the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, said Dienstbier informed him about the approval of the plan by phone from Washington where he took part in a two-day conference of foreign ministers on humanitarian assistance to the CIS. Dienstbier is expected back home on Saturday [25 January].

According to a spokesman for the European Community Commission in Brussels, the implementation of the triangular plan has run into difficulties. He did not elaborate.

Under the triangular plan, first announced by Dienstbier at Harvard University in May 1990, the West is to subsidise Czechoslovak, Hungarian and Polish exports to the republics of the former Soviet Union. This will help both the CIS and the three Central European Countries which have massive difficulties in selling their goods in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Lansky said the financial amount which Western states will provide for Czechoslovakia will depend on the volume of the country's exports to the post-Soviet states.

One-quarter of the EC credit for the Commonwealth, worth 500 million ECU (about 600 million USD), is to be earmarked for sales from Central European countries.

Lansky announced the Cuban Embassy in Prague has asked the Foreign Ministry for protection of the premises. Earlier this week, a group of Czechoslovak citizens hurled stones at the embassy in protest against the Monday [20 January] execution in Cuba of Eduardo Diaz Betancourt, one of three Cuban exiles convicted of allegedly planning terrorist attacks in their homeland.

On Tuesday [21 January], the Czechoslovak foreign ministry deplored the execution.

Comments on Supplying Medicine

LD2501165392 Prague CSTK in English 1426 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Prague Jan 25 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier today said Czechoslovakia might supply medicaments and medical equipment worth 200 million USD to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] provided the European Community [EC] agrees to finance the delivery.

Meeting with journalists on his arrival from Washington where he participated in the Conference on Humanitarian Assistance to the CIS, Dienstbier said the "troika" countries (Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia) submitted a proposal for a "triangular" operation which provides for Western subsidies for the three countries' exports to the CIS. (Triangular assistance was proposed by Dienstbier at Harvard University in May 1990).

Dienstbier said Czechoslovak enterprises must show they are interested in discussing concrete projects with their potential partners in the CIS. Czechoslovakia has a chance to help the countries of the former Soviet Union with housing construction and the power industry, Dienstbier said.

The International Conference on Humanitarian Assistance to the CIS was held in Washington, USA, this week.

Discusses Conference Results

LD2501221992 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2130 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Telephone statement by CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier on the conference on CIS aid in Washington on 23 January—recorded]

[Text] Thanks to the conference, we came to realize that the idea of the triangular actions which we have been pushing through for two years now begins to catch on more and more. We took a joint course of action with the

Hungarians and Poles in putting forward a joint statement. During the following discussion, a major part of the participating countries adopted the triangular actions as the principle. The possibilities of our participating in the spheres of power industry and medical supplies and in the overall strategy were discussed there.

Oil Flowing From Russia; Other Routes Outlined

LD2401232292 Prague CSTK in English 2139 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Bratislava Jan 24 (CSTK)—Czechoslovakia will have got 800,000 tonnes of oil from Russia in January, which is more than planned, the director of the Bratislava-based Slovnaft refinery, Jozef Cimbora, told CSTK today.

He was reacting to an article published by the Russian paper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA of January 23 in which the director of the Russian nonstate oil company Germes predicted that Russia will have to discontinue oil exports.

Cimbora said: "I think that the bad economic and financial situation of Russia will force it to raise oil exports even to the detriment of local consumption".

Recently, Slovnaft representatives conducted in Moscow talks at which oil supplies for February at the January level were confirmed, Cimbora said.

On January 16, a protocol for the supply of 7.5 million tonnes of Russian oil to Czechoslovakia this year was signed in Moscow. It is estimated Czechoslovakia will need 11 million tonnes of oil this year.

"We are also trying to secure oil supplies from other sources", Cimbora said. He mentioned a planned visit of a government delegation to Slovenia and Croatia for talks on the reopening of the Adria oil-pipeline and tentative talks on oil imports from Austria.

Thus far, Czechoslovakia has been heavily dependent for oil from the former Soviet Union, but now it is seeking opportunities to diversify its suppliers.

Two variants were considered—the "northern" and the "southern". According to the director of the joint-stock company Chemapol, which is responsible for oil imports, Vaclav Junek, the only feasible solution is building a link-up to Germany's Ingolstadt (Bavaria) pipeline.

"Our alternative oil sources are rather in the south than in the north because we have much greater marketing interests and opportunities there. We regard this variant as technically easier and cheaper. Moreover, the south is also more reliable from the long-term point of view. The sources there are richer and transport lines from practically all world finding-places converge on the Mediterranean", Junek said in an interview with RUDE PRAVO at the beginning of January.

He believes the Ingolstadt hook-up can be completed by the end of 1994.

The northern variant would lead via Schwedt and Leuna in the former East Germany.

Czech Prime Minister Hails German Stand on Treaty

LD2401180592 Prague CSTK in English 2233 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Bonn Jan 23—Visiting Czech Premier Petr Pithart today praised Wednesday's [22 January] statement by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl that there will be no changes in the Czechoslovak-German treaty.

Pithart told CSTK he is glad that the long period of casting doubt upon the treaty, initialled in Prague on October 7, has ended.

Czechoslovakia hoped the treaty will be signed by the end of 1991. The signing has been delayed by Sudeten Germans demanding changes in the text. The changes were to concern their claims to the German property nationalised in Czechoslovakia after World War Two.

Pithart will end his four-day visit to North Rhine-Westphalia on Friday [23 January].

Havel on Parliament Draft Bill, Referendum Issue

LD2601164392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by station editor Stanislava Dufkova at Lany on 24 January: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dufkova] Mr. President, this week it was the coupon privatization and your proposals in the parliament. Where would you prefer to begin?

[Havel] Yes, I made a public announcement at one time, or to be precise, it was on 17 November, that I was preparing to put forward several important bills to the parliament. I met considerable support among the public. This is because there has been disquiet among the public about the continual uncertainties, about the future of our state, and the public felt in my proposals an attempt to pave the way for further discussions and build certain safeguards to insure a successful election process. For this reason I feel it my duty to the public to express myself on the fate of my bills. Perhaps I ought to do this in sequence. Above all, however, I should say that no conflict between the parliament and the president is involved here, as it may appear at first glance. My legislative drafts that have been debated so far have received relatively large support in the parliament, a large majority, although not sufficient to get these drafts through, which means that they would have had to receive a three-fifths majority in both chambers and also in the Czech and Slovak parts of the Chamber of Nations. In certain cases my proposals failed by a few

votes. Those who were not present when the vote was taken or who abstained contributed to a great deal to this situation.

[Dufkova] It seems that it was mainly the Slovak section of deputies who were blocking it.

[Havel] That is not the complete truth. Deputies from the Czech Republic, too, contributed to it, mainly because they did not vote or were not present. Moreover, this was not a completely monolithic attitude on the Slovak part. Some parties were in favor of these legislative drafts, while others were against it. In the Slovak section of the Chamber of Nations the number of Slovak deputies who were against played a large role. Therefore, in the first place, this is not a conflict between the parliament and the president. I would say that in essense this is a conflict within the parliament.

Second, as I have said several times before, I would not want to regard this as a matter of prestige. I would not want to regard this as a defeat of the president. If it is a defeat, then it is rather a defeat of all of us, or a defeat of a good cause. Let us take these bills individually, for instance the bill on the ratification of the federal constitution by the National Councils. This was a principle which was debated for a very long time. It was not a thing I invented on 17 November and sent to a surprised parliament. This was the outcome of very long and complicated discussions, which culminated in talks in Kromeriz, where all Czech and Slovak political parties agreed that this procedure would be a part of a concept of the preparation of the new constitution and the building of the new constitutional arrangement in our country in general.

The fact that after a certain period of time even this on the whole simple and generally accepted principle was not subsequently passed by the parliament is simply sad, and it bears testimony to the fact that apparently certain political groups or forces have simply decided on a line to the effect that, out of principle, they would not support any constitutional bills aimed at formulating a new federal constitution because they decided that first there must be republican constitutions, that we must first split up in some way into two subjects which only afterward would negotiate—on some kind of contractual basis—the possibility of having a common constitution. This is how I understand the idea which has led to the blocking of such simple, ordinary, and generally approved principles.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, is this situation not similar to 1918 when the Austrian-Hungarian empire was collapsing, and is this not in effect prolonging the agony of Czechoslovakia?

[Havel] Whether this is prolonging the agony or not we cannot know at this moment because we still do not know the end of these processes. I myself, although regarding this as very serious, very sad and very unpleasant, do not as yet conclude from this that it signals the end of the common state. The state exists and operates; people go on living. There exists a kind of a self-preserving movement within society which goes at its own momentum. Although these constitutional disputes are very important, they do not have such consequences immediately. One can envisage various alternatives. One can envisage that some kind of an agreement will in the end be achieved if the national councils come to an agreement by 15 February, at least on fundamental outlines of the treaty which is now being prepared. If on the basis of this the Federal Assembly adopts a section of the constitution, this will then be a good sign. Of course, that hope appears to be smaller today than it appeared until recently. One can also envisage other possibilities for positive development. One can envisage that after the election, the parliamentary body will be better equipped in some way to reach an agreement.

I would however like to return to these individual bills. We have been talking about the bill on ratification. The second bill was the bill amending the law on a referendum. It was shown that in the form in which that law was passed, it was not possible to hold a referendum. As the question must be formulated by the parliament, and if the parliament is compelled to seek the view of the citizens, the voters, this means that it is not capable of reaching an agreement, and if it is not capable of agreeing on the merit of the matter, then it follows that it is even less capable of agreeing on the question which it will put forward to the public. The purpose of that amendment was to remove this illogical obstacle and create from that institution of a referendum a truly employable instrument regardless of when it would be used—before the election, at the time of the election, after the election or not at all. This instrument would simply be available here in a somewhat useable form.

The fact that this amendment was not passed I once again regard as very sad, not because the president was prevented from holding or calling a referendum, but above all because even the principle was not accepted, that a referendum should be held on the basis of a popular initiative. This is really a sign of a very contemptuous attitude to hundreds of thousands of citizens who, for instance, had signed in the autumn a petition calling for a referendum. Various deputies or various parties probably had various reasons why they did not vote for it. Once again, there were not many of them, they were in a minority but that minority was enough to prevent the bill from being passed. It is true that on the Slovak side, there is a certain aversion to a referendum, above all to a referendum that would be held at the federal level. It is true that in this instance it was again more due to deputies from the Slovak Republic that this amendment was not passed.

Once again this in itself is not a tragedy. It however makes it very difficult, or to be more precise, it makes it impossible for us to hold a referendum to find out what citizens in fact want, and moreover this is the sole constitutional method of changing our constitutional

setup, in the sense that the country would split up into two states which afterward would seek some sort of a loose union or the like.

[Dufkova] Do you have an impression, Mr. President, that this is a paradox, that calls are made for the state to be built from below and for the citizens to support by their vote what they think and because the amendment to the law on a referendum was not passed, the citizens have thereby been prevented from intervening?

[Havel] It is really possible to interpret it by saying that from below does not mean completely from below, from the citizens. What is meant is somewhat from the middle, which means in essense from the republican representative bodies. This is however a matter which points its finger to my third proposal, which I simply withdrew, which was the proposal to set up a federal council. I withdrew it because the majority of deputies' clubs and parties preferred the idea of a senate, and therefore there was no sense in persisting with that proposal.

I would however like to say a few things on this matter. This idea did not fall from a clear sky either. This is an idea which has been discussed for a year and a half. It was included in my working draft of the constitution. The draft constitution drawn by experts in the parliament had two options, one with a senate and one with a federal council. I know that I discussed this matter during my talks with numerous politicians who regarded the idea of a federal council as a good one and backed it.

I clearly recall that I talked about it with Mr. Meciar here in Lany a year and a half ago, or perhaps it was even earlier. He said that it was precisely what he thought would be the most correct solution. The idea was to draw the republican parliaments into federal decisionmaking and make them jointly responsible for the federation. Why am I talking about this? When we were talking about whether we are building the federation from below or from wherever we are building it, it was shown that the republican parliament is regarded among some political forces in Slovakia or in the Slovak political environment as the decisive body and the bearer of republican sovereignty. It would be this body which above all would decide about the future form of the state, co-existence with another state, or the possible declaration of sovereignty.

What does this show? It testifies to the fact that above all in Slovakia the republican parliament is understood as a truly fully sovereign, full-blooded, most authentic expression of the republican will. It is understood as an institution which is in effect more important than are Slovak deputies directly elected into a federal representative body. And this was precisely the reason why I proposed the establishment of a federal council. Yes, if the republics understand their republican parliament as the most important and most sovereign representatives of the republican will, let these republican parliaments form a common federal body composed of their representatives. Let us not allow the federal representative bodies to be regarded as less valuable, as a kind of third entity outside the republics, as if the republics' representatives do not have full rights in them as they have in republican parliaments. This idea was aimed at solving this situation, which is a typical one for us. It would also be technically simpler and less expensive. This was my third bill.

The fourth bill was a procedural referendum bill and this one was automatically ruled out, as the constitutional [referendum] law was not amended.

The next one is the bill on dissolving the Federal Assembly. Our constitution allows for, though in a rather ambiguous way, the possibility to dissolve the Federal Assembly. Nevertheless, this does not relate to situations which can emerge in a democratic system, because in fact the constitution was drawn in the totalitarian era. Originally, I did not intend to propose such a bill, but as various warning signals kept coming from the Federal Assembly, hinting at a possibility of constitutional crises, I decided after all to put this bill forward. The current deliberations of the Federal Assembly have confirmed that there was a reason for my fears which led me to put forward this bill. [passage omitted]

Despite the fact that at present there is little chance of the bill being adopted, since no constitutional bill has a chance of being adopted, it played a certain positive role.

The last bill is an election bill, on which no decision has been taken so far.

[Dufkova] Do you think it has a chance?

[Havel] At present it is hard to say. I do not have big illusions about it, but it is not possible to say in advance that it is also going to be buried with no other possible outcome. I would not dare to be so skeptical. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] The situation regarding coupon privatization has developed dramatically this week, and in the end some sort of graceful solution was found. Do you share the view that the solution is graceful?

[Havel] First, I think that the situation is not perhaps as dramatic as we are sometimes told. I am not sure whether in the overall election atmosphere some politicians do not dramatize the situation more than necessary. My view is that, for instance, the fact that for many weeks nobody went to register his coupon book, and now suddenly there are lines, is no reason for despair nor is it something tragic or an argument against coupon privatization. The fact is simply that we are not clairvoyants as were our predecessors, we are not capable of envisaging people's moods and various social events. It can happen that one moment interest is tremendous, and another moment interest is less. The government is simply not omniscient to envisage this. Of course, some dangers have emerged in the sphere of the laws in

question and the government attempts to correct them gradually and to look for the best solutions. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] There are many surprises emerging regarding the signing of a treaty between us and Germany. Do you think, Mr. President, that you are going to sign the treaty soon?

[Havel] Yes, I think so. The treaty will be signed before the end of February. Chancellor Kohl will arrive and we will sign it. I think that the agitation which surrounds the treaty and continues to grow, both on our side and on the German side, is again somewhat influenced by the elements of internal politics, election elements, etc. It is a bit unnecessary. [passage omitted] I believe the treaty will be signed in February and I believe that subsequently it is will be ratified by both parliaments.

[Dufkova] My next question also concerns foreign issues—our weapons continue to be sent to Syria, and Israel dislikes this.

[Havel] I am not very happy about the shipment of our tanks to Syria. We were assured that this shipment was the last one. I think that if we toy with this and attempt to continue to export heavy military equipment, especially to countries in regions of unrest, or those which support terrorism, or those which are listed as dangerous—this would cause a great political, economic damage to Czechoslovakia, this would damage its international standing and long-term future.

There are, of course, great pressures involved to continue in such shipments, inconspicuously and without making waves. There are certain lobbies with an interest in this. My view is that these efforts are extremely dangerous, endangering our world standing. If I get to know about the signing of a contract on any further such shipment which does not follow a legal course of action, I will consider it to be a very serious, very dangerous matter and I will draw political consequences from it.

[Dufkova] Before Christmas you mentioned that you had sent letters concerning political prisoners. One of the letters concerned political prisoners in Cuba. Recently we read in the papers that a 30-year-old journalist was executed there.

[Havel] This has shocked everybody who is only a little bit interested in the fate of human rights in the world, and it is a proof of the hysteria in Castro's regime, since it apparently feels that its days are numbered. Cuba is indeed an island of communist totalitarianism in today's world, and I believe that this affair only accelerates Cuba's international isolation, and that it does not contribute to the survival of the regime but rather to its end. [passage omitted]

Carnogursky Views Parliament Vote on Constitution

LD2601210192 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by correspondent Lubomir Lintner; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Lintner] In my first question I want to concentrate on the Federal Assembly session. The parliament did not approve the proposals of Mr. President on carrying out a referendum. The bill on the ratification of the CSFR Constitution by national parliaments was not passed either. President Havel himself withdrew the bill on the possible set up of a future Federal Assembly. What is your assessment of the situation?

[Carnogursky] The talks in the Federal Assembly, the voting and the results of the vote, show that a breakup of the political scene is taking place in Czechoslovakia. There are too many controversies between the individual parties and movements: not only between the Slovak and the Czech parties but also within each republic. The political parties lack any unifying idea.

An interesting development took place. Prior to the voting, the Federal Assembly decided to pass the amendment to the Constitution on the three highest legislative bodies, the president of the republic, the government and the parliament—first to the national parliaments—the Czech and the Slovak—to get their opinions. This shows that the federal parliament itself has realized the importance of the republics and that it is impossible to govern without the republics, or to issue laws and even less to adopt a constitution. This is a course of action that the existing Constitution does not directly prescribe to the Federal Assembly. However, the political situation developed in such a way that the Federal Assembly realized that without the cooperation of the republics it would be unable to adopt this constitutional law. This shows me that the development directed toward the increased and more important position of the republics, which is expressed also in the Constitution, is in harmony with the realities of our times.

[Lintner] In some articles in the press, politicians have expressed surprise that the bill on the validity of the federal constitution based on the agreement of the national parliaments, was not adopted. Yet the Slovak deputies contributed to this result of the voting. This looks illogical. What do you think about this?

[Carnogursky] The Federal Assembly deputies who voted against this amendment to the Constitution have started to follow a risky path toward sabotaging the constitutional state of affairs as they do not accept any gradual movement toward the amendment and improvement of our constitutional situation. The national parliaments' ratification of the constitution would represent at least the first guarantee that a constitution of the joint

state would not be in disharmony with the wishes of the republics. By not endorsing this bill deputies have launched on the path of everything or nothing—a risky path, which can only further complicate the constitutional advancement of our republic.

[Lintner] Representatives of the national parliament presidiums met in Bratislava to discuss the state setup between the Czech and Slovak republics. The problem which appeared was: Who are the participants in the treaty? Are they the Czech and Slovak national parliaments, as required by the Czech side or the Czech and Slovak republics, as required by the proposal of the Slovak side? In some viewpoints we can see rather pedantic insistence on the form, a sort of legal fundamentalism.

[Carnogursky] How we label the participants in the treaty is very important. Therefore a treaty which is to adjust the relations between the republics can be concluded only by the republics. Naturally the republics can be represented by the national parliament but the treaties are concluded by the republics. This is how it is usually done in international treaties. Labeling the participants in the treaty has another significance: If the treaty is concluded only by the national councils, this treaty could be considered only as a legislative initiative toward the Federal Assembly. This is how the Czech side sees it. If the treaty is concluded by the republics, it is not only a legislative initiative, but is a regular treaty with full validity between two sovereign republics.

[Lintner] Mr. Prime Minister, it is the end of January. There are only four months and a few days until the date of the elections. Should this problem which has been going on for so long not be left to the result of the elections? As you already indicated in your first answer, two years in parliament have seen some political groups dividing into a greater number of groups. Currently citizens know these groups' views on the state setup. If somebody decides to vote for a certain party or movement he will actually vote for a certain way for the state setup.

[Carnogursky] It is quite likely that it will really happen in the end, that we will not achieve an agreement on the state setup prior to the elections, and that the whole program will remain to be settled at the elections. We must realize, however, that if we succeed in settling the questions of the state setup prior to the elections this will undoubtedly lead to satisfaction on our political scene, and the elections would take place in a calmer atmosphere. After all, these legislative bodies—the Federal Assembly and the national parliaments—were elected for two years to adopt constitutions. If they fail to fulfill this task it will be a failure of the legislative bodies.

[Lintner] In our first January talks, you spoke about your feelings on the small number of registered coupon booklets. Currently the registrations rooms are overfilled with people interested in registration. What is your view of the situation with regard to coupon privatization?

[Carnogursky] Coupon privatization is a nontraditional method of privatization. It is carried out in our country on an exceptionally wide scale and actually nowhere else in the world has it been carried out on such a scale and in such a short time. It actually is to be carried out within several months. It is obvious that this new method involves many unknown factors which at the beginning could not be envisaged. For example, a detail: About 8 million coupon booklets were printed when the coupon privatization started last autumn. It had rather a slow start and hardly anybody could envisage that it would become so popular and that there would be a shortage of coupon booklets. Also at the beginning of coupon privatization we knew very little about the nature of investment privatization funds. However much you might criticize these funds we must admit that for example the advertisement methods of Harvard Funds actually started the privatization and inspired this great number of citizens to buy coupon booklets.

It is to the advantage of coupon privatization that it carry out the privatization quickly and fast privatization is in the interest of enterprises and of the national economy.

[Lintner] Some hints at citizens' distrust have recently emerged in the context of privatization investment funds' activities—the distrust based on the fact that there was a lack of information about enterprises earmarked for privatization—fears that those who are in some way involved in assessing privatization projects will enjoy big advantages. Mr. Prime Minister, are there any measures which could make leaking information advantageous to some groups of citizens and more difficult or even preventive to others?

[Carnogursky] Those people who work in the sphere of privatization will not enjoy any advantages. A list of the enterprises earmarked for the first wave of privatization is going to be published some time in February this year when the control of the privatization projects will be concluded. There are 736 such enterprises in Slovakia, but this is a preliminary number because in the course of the control over privatization projects one, two, four, or five of them could be removed from the list. Cases of somebody enjoying advantage cannot happen because there will be an increased interest of a number of citizens in good enterprises. [passage omitted]

[Lintner] [passage omitted] From 1 May 1991-12 January 1992 there were 44 machineguns stolen from Army stores and only three of them were found in the course of investigation. What happened to the machineguns from Holesov [police training center] is not known. So far, machineguns from a tank were stolen in Levice. The latest case of theft of such a weapon is from the Kezmarok Army unit. [passage omitted] Can you comment, Mr. Prime Minister?

[Carnogursky] Thefts of arms from Army units show that discipline within the Army is not at an appropriate level. Commanding officers as well as the minister of defense

are no doubt going to draw conclusions from this. The arms which were stolen, above all machineguns, show that there are gangs in our country which are involved in supplying arms to various conflict regions of the world. It is difficult to use tank machineguns in our country but it is easier to use them in the regions where there is war for instance, in Yugoslavia, or elsewhere in the world. Thefts of arms represent a serious problem and I gave orders—as far as it is within my powers—first to guard the arms more properly, and second, where arms are found missing, to draw career consequences from such cases.

Assembly Sets Republic Deadline for State Setup

LD2501171192 Prague CSTK in English 2221 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Prague Jan 23 (CSTK)—Political leaders in the Czechoslovak parliament today demanded that results of talks between the Czech and Slovak parliaments on a future state setup be submitted by mid-February. In a letter sent to the presidiums of the Czech and Slovak national councils they called for intensified talks on a Czech-Slovak agreement on the future state setup. Successful conclusion of the talks would make it possible for the Federal Assembly (parliament) to adopt at its session starting February 17 a final stand on three draft amendments to the Czechoslovak Constitution concerning relations between the legislative power, the federal government and the head of state. Discussion about the three amendments was suspended at today's 20th parliament session. Tomorrow, the legislators will continue discussing other points on the agenda.

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Bratislava—The Presidiums of the Czech and Slovak national councils today agreed to set up a joint commission to prepare their negotiations on a draft agreement on Czechoslovakia's future state setup. The commission is to start work probably February 3. Chairpersons of the Czech and Slovak National Councils Dagmar Buresova and Frantisek Miklosko told journalists after the meeting that the commission will be composed of members of the two regional parliaments and their presidiums. Representatives of the two regional parliaments have as yet failed to agree on some issues concerning the contents of the future agreement, including questions of banking, communications, transport, relation between the federal and national constitutions, foreign policy and customs system. Also unresolved is the question of whether the agreement should be signed by the two regional parliaments (as proposed by the Czech side) or by the two republics (as proposed by the Slovak side). "If we fail to come to an agreement by February 15, the existing Constitution (of 1968) will remain in force," Miklosko said. The Slovak political representatives, striving for greater sovereignty of Slovakia within the common state, want an agreement between the Czech and Slovak republics to become a basis for a new federal constitution.

Czech Official Urges Care in Coupon Privatization

LD2401180392 Prague CSTK in English 1506 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Prague Jan 23 (CSTK)—Czech minister for the administration of national property and its privatisation Tomas Jezek today said the initial stage of coupon privatisation, to start February 17, ought to be carefully considered.

Addressing the 30th session of the Czech National Council (parliament), which opened yesterday, Jezek said "a complete list of joint-stock companies will most likely not be available on February 17". Czechoslovak citizens will thus tend to place their coupons which they had bought for 1,000 crowns (about 33 USD) in investment privatisation funds, Jezek said.

According to him, the danger of an outflow of national property abroad through stock by which the privatisation funds would cover their possible credits from foreign banks is not big.

The overall volume of foreign capital in the Czech Republic is inadequate to expectations, Jezek said, adding that out of a total of 7,000 privatisation projects which have been submitted for consideration to the Czech Ministry only 200 to 300 count with foreign investment.

He said the privatisation projects for state-owned enterprises worth 35,000 million crowns (1,167 million USD) have been approved by the Czech Privatisation Ministry to date.

The volume of property falling within the first wave of privatisation of big industrial enterprises in the Czech Republic totals 140,000 million crowns (4,667 million USD).

Jeszenszky Appraises Conference on CIS Aid

LD2401185792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by correspondent Gyorgy Bolgar in Washington on 24 January;—recorded]

[Text] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, who led the Hungarian delegation at the Washington conference, is on his way home. Before his departure from the U.S. capital our correspondent Gyorgy Bolgar invited him to the microphone.

[Bolgar] How was the tripartite proposal that the developed countries finance deliveries by Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland to the former Soviet Union received? Is there a final decision about this which can be regarded as ready money [kesz penznek lehet venni]?

[Jeszenszky] It was received more favorably than expected. This idea was not a new one, and already some months, or even a year or two ago, it had been raised, but what mattered a great deal, I think, was that the three countries prepared a joint document. We distributed this among the delegates, and in addition these central European countries coordinated their work in the working groups.

In every report by the working groups, or wherever this issue could be raised—in the fields of food supplies, medicine, and in the working group considering technical assistance, in their action plans—this question appeared. Not only in the working documents, but also in the reports of the chairmen of the working groups, summarizing their work—in all three areas this question was raised with emphasis.

[Bolgar] Does this mean that the plan has in effect been accepted?

[Jeszenszky] Yes, but we cannot, of course, lean back, satisfied, in our armchairs. These goods must indeed first of all be delivered, and we still have to make preparations to keep those countries who supported it to their word. Here I would in particular like to mention the EC, who were specially good partners. I have to say that this also already means the implementation of the treaty of association, and demonstrates that not only in the field of political cooperation, but in every aspect a very close cooperation had been established between the associated states and the EC.

[Bolgar] Did they prepare in the working groups a concrete program, almost broken down day by day, about what needs to be done next week, or the week after? Who should meet and where, how to deliver, who should finance it?

[Jeszenszky] These reports are quite detailed; in all of them the necessity for taking the next steps is pointed out. So if it is not exactly day by day, or hour by hour, but in the next days and weeks, these steps will indeed be implemented.

[Bolgar] And until then, did they nominate somebody or some group to monitor the progress of this whole aid program? Has a supervisory group been appointed?

[Jeszenszky] There are people responsible from the United States, so shortly, while on the plane home, we will be evaluating what we heard at the working groups, just as we did last night. When we arrive home we will convey the documents to all the ministries concerned—for example, the question of an air bridge had been raised, in the case of some goods. The United States put forward such a proposal, and it can be imagined that Hungary will be involved in this as well.

[Bolgar] Will NATO be involved?

[Jeszenszky] NATO will have a significant, decisive role in the distribution of this aid. It must be said that this is also a special case of converting institutions trained for war, or defense, for a very important new, positive, and peaceful role. At the same time NATO has the apparatus for this, and practical knowhow. It must be said that they know the map of the Soviet Union well.

IAEA Spokesman on Monitoring Nuclear Stocks

LD2601132392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0805 GMT 26 Jan 92

[From the "World Clock" program]

[Text] It is not always possible to immediately decide whether what we hear is real or manufactured news. There are, for example, the guesses as to how many smaller or greater, sympathetic or unpleasant countries, are manufacturing nuclear weapons. A spokesman for the IAEA, which has its headquarters in Vienna, is trying to reassure us, but our reporter Peter Zentai has doubts. You will have to decide for yourselves.

[Zentai] The chief spokesman for the IAEA, in the name of the organization he represents, declares that they do not believe in the secret nuclear cooperation between Iraq and Algeria. There are two reasons for this: First, there is no evidence for this, although it is the Agency which could easiest obtain such evidence; and second, nothing is easier than to obtain unprocessed uranium. Uranium can be obtained nowadays at any time, in any quantity, and quite cheaply. What would be the point of Algeria importing 10 tonnes of uranium specifically from Iraq, David Kidd [chief IAEA spokesman] asked me. Algeria could obtain the necessary uranium in much simpler ways, he continued. For us, the Agency, it is much more important that the Algerian Government is even now preparing to sign a treaty of cooperation with the IAEA, according to which foreign experts can monitor the newest Algerian nuclear installations built with Chinese help, the 15-megawatt capacity reactor, which is very much larger than the old reactor at present in

operation in Algiers. This latter is also open for our inspectors, argues the agency press chief, which is fully in accord with the Algerian version .

To this I asked in reply: What would happen if in the Arab country the extreme Islamic forces gained power in the elections and tore up the agreement, or misled international public opinion—and this in fact can be imagined in any, mainly Third World countries.

[Kidd in English fading into Hungarian report by Zentai] Presently in Algeria, the government which is in power is the one we are signing agreements with, and we have no reasons to negotiate with anybody else there, replies David Kidd, adding that the agency regards the Algerian ambassador delegated to it as the only intermediary, and have excellent cooperation with him. Kidd added that governments come and go, but the international treaties usually remain. Consequently we have good reasons to suppose that the more than 140 countries which have signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty will continue to adhere to its conditions. We have no evidence to the contrary, and although Algeria does not belong to the majority it has special relations with the Agency, so from now on nuclear research in Algeria may be subjected to extensive monitoring.

The essential point is that if a country should abrogate such a document or the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the consequence of such a move is international pressure, and a boycott which simply makes nonpeaceful nuclear development impossible—let us just think of the example of Iraq. Mr. Kidd thinks that the developments of the past months allow one to draw the conclusion that states are beginning to give up their nuclear military plans for good. South Africa recently joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and North Korea in the past few days has stated that, like Algeria, it is ready to be subjected to the monitoring of the Agency. The Argentine and Brazil heads of state a few weeks ago signed similar agreements in Vienna. I would reiterate that the world press and many important politicians do not find the situation so reassuring, because everyone is concerned about the fate of the nuclear arsenal piled up in the former Soviet Union. Likewisewe we cannot be certain about the intensions of the Third World on a long-term basis.

[Kidd] Concerning the Soviet Union, the evaluation of the events there does not belong among the tasks of the Agency, concluded my discussion partner. But from his words it transpires that the agency offered to take stock of and control the fissionable materials which remain after the elimination of Soviet nuclear equipement. To leave such materials without control means that their free marketing is undoubtedly of great potential danger, so the agency would be willing to take care of their storage as well. But the Vienna center does not have and is never likely to have the authorization to take part in the destruction of weapons anywhere, perhaps in the former Soviet states, or participate in disarmament. The agency would rather take on a kind of accountant role by collecting all reliable information about the existing and dismantled arsenal, and the locations of nuclear materials.

Citizen Explains Transport of Red Mercury

AU2201134992 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Jan 92 pp 1,9

["Y.Y."-signed interview with unidentified citizen of a republic of the former Soviet Union; place and date not given: "People Have Already Killed for It—Window for the Red Mercury"]

[TEXT] [NEPSZABADSAG] How was it possible to transport red mercury abroad from the Soviet Union?

[Citizen] Let us call it RM 20/20 instead. RM is the abbreviation for red mercury. There has not been a more suitable material for smuggling since the beginning of smuggling. Its value is around $300,000 a kilogram, many times the value of gold. It is very heavy, and is very small in bulk. You ask how it can be brought across the border? Practically in any kind of container, even in a Minsk refrigerator—or in logs of timber, in which case a hiding place is formed in a specified trunk. Since, contrary to some articles in the press, the material is not radioactive, it is practically impossible to discover it.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Let us interrupt the conversation for a minute. This affair started by someone—who spoke excellent Hungarian but, judging from the accent, was not a native speaker—telephoning our editorial room and asking if NEPSZABADSAG was interested in documents relating to red mercury and its sources. The affair of the Hungarians arrested in Italy charged with smuggling red mercury was a few days old then; therefore, the answer could only be one thing. We met twice. One of the conditions was that we would not reveal anything about this person's age, clothing, appearance, anything that would relate to their identity. At the request of this person, we only say "a citizen of a republic of the former Soviet Union." We did not introduce ourselves. At the first meeting, we recognized each other by each carrying a certain newspaper. Naturally, we did not need this at the second meeting.

The conversation took place in two parts in two public places.

Now, let us return to the dialogue that we left off at the tree trunks.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What other methods exist?

[Citizen] The "window" at the border. This means that a contact customs officer who is part of the deal will be on duty at border station X between 0900 and 1400. Therefore, the delivery has to reach this point within this period. The customs officer will not ask questions to do with a document which, to say the least, is very unusual in a Russian bureaucracy concerned about details. A document, whose sections are not filled in correctly: The

exported material is "nonferrous metal." The owner in the Soviet Union is "unidentified," the purchasing company is "unidentified," the target country is "unidentified," and the currency of the payment is "unidentified." You can have a look at it.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Naturally, we did have a look—the reader can also see it [NEPSZABADSAG carries a photocopy of the alleged document]. There is no doubt that this document dated 2 November 1990 is real. Just as, according to our physicist experts, the documents forming a small file also proved to be real, namely the offers to purchase red mercury of Soviet origin. [Parts of other photocopied documents are also reproduced] (The numbers indicate relative density.) The technical and chemical description indicates what this is, namely a material that contains transuranic elements, too, and it can also be used as an additive when making nuclear warheads.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is there also a need for a "window" at the other side of the border?

[Citizen] Not necessarily. In fact, probably not. The Soviet companies and mediators did not tell the authorities of the transit countries about the arrival of such deliveries.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In which cases are illegal methods needed?

[Citizen] The export can be completely legal or completely illegal. Secret crossing of the border is needed in the latter case. However, in the case of RM 20/20 deliveries from the Soviet Union, the starting point was a state-owned enterprise even when the sale was carried out through illegal chain of dealers. This was a completely strict military and state secret in the affairs of the enterprise.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Why?

[Citizen] Because this is not like drugs that can be produced in secret kitchens functioning as laboratories. This is a very clean material that requires large factories operating with modern nuclear technology. However, in certain cases, the interest of the exporter may have been to choose illegal or semi-legal ways—by semi-legal, I mean the aforementioned accompanying documents.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Why is the legal way not better?

[Citizen] Because the exporter is not responsible for where the red mercury might end up if the method is illegal and the target country is unknown.

[NEPSZABADSAG] For example, where might it end up?

[Citizen] For example, an Arab country.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Even Iraq?

[Citizen] Even Iraq. Nevertheless, I want to add that it is not mainly due to the Soviet red mercury deliveries if Iraq has reached the verge of producing nuclear weapons.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How is an illegal red mercury delivery carried out? Do you know about that? Have you ever seen red mercury?

[Citizen] Let me put it this way: I have once seen the filled bottles. I was once at the edge of a deal in preparation. Someone—a Western person here—with whom I had business contact, asked me if I could obtain such a material. All I knew about mercury was that it was the material in thermometers. I inquired at one of my Soviet contacts of whom I knew... well, I knew that he had a broad range of interests. He knew what I was talking about, and contact was made. I do not know the final outcome.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How many mediators participate in a deal?

[Citizen] Many. The mediator does not know the final user. No one trusts anyone else, and this complicates matters. There is no credit or delayed payments. On the other hand, there is a sample that has to correspond to the specifications laid down in the document I had given to you. The sample is a two-gram vial fastened with a piece of wire—similarly to the cork of a champagne bottle. The price of the sample also corresponds to the price of the material, because it is a proportionate part of the $300,000 per kilogram price. The buyer has the sample examined in a laboratory which takes one or two, maximum five days and can cost as much as $10,000. Delivery will take place if the laboratory examination proves the clarity of the product.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Where are such laboratories?

[Citizen] As far as I know, they are in Vienna, Geneva, and—mainly—in Paris.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is the guarantee for the buyer that a clear sample will be followed by a clear delivery?

[Citizen] There is none, really. At the same time, this is a very closed and very secret world. As the stakes are very high, everyone wants to find out as much as possible about the part of the chain he is dealing with. In addition, it is necessary to take risks and to have a minimum amount of trust. Actually, a person who does not deliver the goods the way he should have will probably have a short life. People have already been killed for RM 20/20, perhaps also for information on it. It is said that a whole magazine was shot into someone in a wood near Paris for such a reason; his body was cut into two by the shots. We are talking about huge amounts of money and huge fees for mediation; a person who successfully carries out a deal will not have any financial problems for years.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What can be the role of countries like Hungary and the CSFR that neighbor the Soviet Union?

[Citizen] They do not produce the material. They do not use it. However, they are unavoidable transit countries. In addition, the infrastructure of the former Soviet Union has broken up while it is possible to telephone by direct dialling or to send faxes equally to the West or the East from these countries. Finally, the citizens of the countries neighboring the former Soviet Union can be used as occasional mediators, as their foreign trade salesmen and the workers of joint ventures will sooner or later receive an offer once they have worked long enough on the Soviet market. Someone, a business contact would ask him during lunch if he would ask his good Russian friend Volodia if he could obtain RM 20/20. This is how affairs start. Then if the participants are professionals, the deal will be completed quickly, smoothly, and without a trace, except when a mistake is made somewhere.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is red mercury exported from the Soviet Union now?

[Citizen] As far as I know, the Soviet authorities closed the gates in November. However, today I heard that the Russian authorities have again agreed to.... This is a different game, though. It can probably be done now without central permission. There is no power, but there is military industry, nuclear industry, and chemical industry, and whatever they have they will sell. They will sell it because they need money, and they need dollars.

[NEPSZABADSAG] They will sell, or we will sell? (This was the first and the last time the person hesitated with the answer and smiled.)

[Citizen] I have not yet decided whether to participate in this deal. One can win a lot. One can lose everything.

[NEPSZABADSAG] This happened at the second meeting. He told me what we had agreed on. He looked at his watch. Time has passed, he said, and stood up. He went ahead, and I paid. By the time I went out to the street he was nowhere to be seen. I involuntarily felt my pocket—I still had the papers.

Soviet Army Fails To Aquire Property Rights

LD2401192192 Budapest MTI in English 1841 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 23 (MTI)—"The Soviet Army did not acquire property rights to any single facility in Hungary that it earlier used. All buildings and objects were handed over to the Hungarian side in a manner documented with protocols," said Hungarian Defence Ministry spokesman Col. Gyorgy Keleti.

Keleti was reacting to a report by TASS, which cited a Japanese newspaper report saying Russia had begun talks with potential Western purchasers of its properties in former socialist countries.

Keleti said the former Soviet Union and the various countries concerned agreed to different conditions of troop withdrawal. The Hungarian-Soviet agreement did not authorise anyone to sell the property. The Treasury assets management organization, with the authorisation of the government, finds uses for it.

Pharmaceutical Industry To Send Supplies to CIS

LD2401180192 Budapest MTI in English 1019 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 24 (MTI)—The Hungarian pharmaceutical industry is prepared to supply medicines to the Commonwealth of Independent States with Western financing. This is all the more possible since 120 kinds of products have been registered in the region, Jozsef Szolnoki, director of Gedeon Richter Co., told MTI.

The effective Hungarian-Russian agreement envisages the delivery of USD 200 million worth of medicines. Although Hungary has not signed any agreement with the Ukraine, the latter is believed to want to buy USD 50-100 million worth of products. Altogether, the former Soviet Union might order USD 350-400 million worth of pharmaceutical products from Hungary.

Jeszenszky Negotiates With Austria on Refugees

LD2701093992 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] The Hungarian foreign minister is beginning negotiations in Vienna about, among other topics, the disputed question of the extradition-expulsion agreement between the two countries, employment of Hungarians in Austria, and the exchange of goods along the border. On this occasion, Geza Jeszenszky made a statement to the Vienna paper KURIR. He emphasized that Hungary and Austria could only curb the flood of refugees which can be expected from the East through a joint strategy. He added that Hungary cannot admit the enormous crowds which are forced to emigrate from the territory of the former Soviet Union and Romania for economic reasons. The foreign minister said we do not, in any case, wish to become a "transit" country.

Walesa on Aid to CIS, Cuts in Gas Deliveries

LD2701034792 Warsaw PAP in English 2239 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Gdansk, Jan. 26—President Lech Walesa on Sunday [26 January] said that the joint aid programme for the countries of the former Soviet Union, of which Poland is an active participant, will help this country in overcoming its economic problems.

When asked to comment on the cuts in the deliveries of gas and oil to Poland from the Commonwealth of Independent States, the president declared that he had long ago anticipated such situation and that he had spoken about such possibility, but the problem was neglected.

Speaking on the three hitherto solidarity prime ministers, the president stressed that all three of them had been different and fulfilled different tasks and added that now, Poland needed a "legal structure" and that it was why the current government and parliament was led by lawyers.

President Walesa also stressed that the experiences of the two former Polish prime ministers should not be rejected for "we can do a lot more together" while implementing new programmes.

CIS Army General Discusses Troop Withdrawal

LD2601201892 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Excerpts] All combat units belonging to the Northern Group of the Soviet Armed Forces will have left Poland by 15 November, General Viktor Dubynin announced at a news conference in Legnica. A group of 6,000 men supervising the transit of the Soviet armed forces will have left by the end of the next year. General Dubynin assured that deadlines for the withdrawal of the Northern Group of the armed forces will be kept even if the Polish side does not sign an agreement on the principles and manner of withdrawal of the forces.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] [passage omitted] An unexpected summing up to the day was the news conference organized by General Dubynin in which he unexpectedly and sharply attacked the representatives of the Polish authorities for, as he stated, delaying the progress in negotiations concerning the withdrawal of the Northern Group from Poland as well as misleading the public by scaling down the figures on the size of the withdrawal.

[?Major General Zdzislaw Ostrowski] We do not have customs outposts at the airports which are being used by the Soviet Army. Therefore, my apologies to the bishop, but I am not a holy spirit, and I do not know how many soldiers were withdrawn by planes. [sentence as heard] I am simply astonished at what has happened here. Therefore, I state once again: I am willing to initiate good-neighborly, friendly talks with General Dubynin. This is my aim, but I will not allow untruths to be told about the Polish Government. [end recording]

Spokesman on Dubynin Statement

LD2701171292 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1510 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] A small storm has blown up around the Soviet forces stationed in Poland. General Dubynin has accused the Polish side, and Lieutenant General Zdzislaw Ostrowski, the government plenipotentiary for the stay of Soviet troops in Poland, personally, of delaying the deadline for signing an agreement on the settlement of financial accounts between the Polish Government and the Northern Group of Soviet Army forces. Here is Marcin Gugulski, the government press spokesman, speaking on this matter:

[Begin Gugulski recording] In his statement yesterday, 26 January, Colonel General Viktor Dubynin, commander of the Northern Group of forces of the former USSR, was completely at variance with the truth in accusing the Polish Government of responsibility for the delay in the signing of the agreement on the withdrawal of the forces of the former USSR in Poland. The Polish Government had already presented the USSR Government with a draft of such an agreement in 1990, and was then ready to sign it immediately. The cause of the delay was not to be found on the Polish side. Last year, the initialling of the agreement came about at the initiative of the Polish side. On the matter of the financial settlement of accounts, the Polish Government proposed the adoption of the so-called zero option—that is, the forsaking of mutual claims consequent upon the takeover of sites or damage caused—but the Soviet Government rejected this straightforward solution, thereby calling forth long and difficult negotiations regarding financial settlements. Not for the first time, facts in the statement by General Dubynin are untrue and lead to polemics and harm the atmosphere of the negotiations. General Dubynin ought to desist from speaking on matters that are not within his remit. Despite this, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs is convinced that the negotiations regarding financial settlements, which now find themselves in their final stages, will lead to a result that is favorable to both sides. The matter of the quick withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland should be urgently settled.

To these fragments of the clarification by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman I wish to add a few sentences by way of comment, a comment relating to certain other statements by General Dubynin. This is not a comment on all of his statements, only to those on a few matters. General Dubynin spoke of a delay in coming to an agreement, he acused the Polish side of this delay, which is completely at variance with the truth. As there is talk of delays then, indeed, if someone is delaying then it is the Russian, the Soviet side that is delaying the regulation of payments. These are not small amounts. Here 25,914,000 Swiss francs are involved, for the transport

of forces. Here 33,817,000,000 zloties are involved for rent, $1,973,000 for electricity, and, finally, $3,625,000 for food. As regards electricity, there are problems of a purely technical and organizational nature. It is clear that if someone does not pay for electricity the normal procedure that is then considered is the cutting off of the supply to such a consumer. Regarding food supplies, General Dubynin allowed himself to state that his country fed Poland after the Second World War—that anyway is how the press and press agencies cited it. Well, the facts state otherwise. A discussion after half a century is a discussion that is in part at least historical. I will not renew it here and now. One can only state that, indeed, once, long ago, a very long time ago, Russia was an exporter of food. Recently, rather not. It has rather been an importer, or has even taken advantage of foreign assistance.

On the other hand, this situation with which we are dealing in Poland in association with the stay of Soviet forces that are not paying for the food they receive is something completely different. In the Polish language, for the specification of such a situation in which one side supplies required goods and the other does not pay for these goods, we do not use either the names import or assistance. We have completely different words for this. [end recording]

From the calculations of Marcin Gugulski it transpires that the Russians owe us around $13 million. Slawomir Mrozek [well-known satirist] once wrote this amusing sentence: As the NOVOSTI agency reports, God does not exist. Logically, the statement by General Dubynin is of the same standard.

'Confusion' Over Reports on Russian Gas Supplies

LD2401230792 Warsaw PAP in English 2234 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 24—There was confusion at the highest levels in Poland on Friday [24 January] as different versions of the facts concerning the reduced gas and oil supplies to Poland from Russia were issued to the press. According to press spokeswoman for the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations Anna Ferens Poland is receiving only 55 percent of its normal gas supplies and none of its oil. She added that telephone conversations were being held with Moscow at all levels. But head of the government press office Zbigniew Rykowski did not confirm Ferens information about the cutting off of oil supplies, in fact his account conflicted with hers. "The January quota of oil is reaching Poland", Rykowski told a PAP journalist. Asked if it had been reduced he said, "basically this is not a problem". But press spokesman for the refinery at Plock in central Poland Wieslaw Konski maintained that no supplies had reached Plock from the former Soviet Union on Friday. According to well-informed sources, the problems with oil supplies from the former Soviet republics might last until the end of the month. Rykowski did confirm, on the other hand, that talks were going on at all levels concerning the reduction in gas supplies from Russia. "I am not authorised to reveal the details of those talks, for the good of the matter", he said however. Rykowski estimated that current gas supplies were at the level of 60 percent of the amount agreed in the Polish-Russian agreement of last month. "That amount of gas has been enough until now, but when the freezing weather hit us it became insufficient. That is why for two days now there has been a 12 degree level of supplies", he replied when asked whether supplies had been reduced since the beginning of January. He was referring to the compulsory 12 degree limit for gas supplies on a 16 degree scale, which means a drastic limitation of supplies to big recipients of gas, notably steel mills and chemical plants. Director of the shift at the National Gas Control Centre Jerzy Niemczyk said that only warmer weather could ease the situation. "The national sources of gas are being exploited to the full. However they constitute barely one-quarter of what we are using at the moment", he added.

On Friday nights "Panorama" news programme, Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Adam Glapinski said he would head a delegation going to Moscow on Monday for further talks on the energy supplies.

Walesa Remarks on Social, Economic Problems

LD2601193192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. President, in an interview last week you warned the French against the consequences of an armed conflict in the east. In your statements addressed to the Poles the subject has not been touched on very often, whereas at present we are bearing the consequences of the disturbances. For some days there has been no delivery of oil to Poland, and gas deliveries have been reduced.

[Walesa] Indeed, I have anticipated this for quite a long time, and I talked about it, but it was not always reported. One made little account of that, one assumed that we would not be able to defend ourselves against such a development, anyway. Maybe that is why.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, Poland is to participate in the collective action of assistance to the states of the former Soviet Union. Do you think this will help us in our problems?

[Walesa] But of course, because we have many goods in demand by the Soviet [as heard] market, but the Soviet market has no money to pay. The combination of the two possibilities will help both the Soviet Union [as heard] and us, because we have considerable potential not utilized due to the lack of funds in the Soviet states.

[Correspondent] Last Friday [24 January], at the Warszawa steel plant you could see the social mood for

yourself. People can hardly take any more, and there are apparently no prospects for the big Molochs of our economy.

[Walesa] If we recall a few things I was talking about earlier, this problem had been raised. Again, we took little account of the issue. Big enterprises int their present state cannot be managed and cannot be effective. One has to give more independence to various sectors and divisions. For example, joinery, welding shops, or even transport, which have no work in a big factory, can find work in other factories or even outside, in town. That is why the idea was right and one has to return to it as soon as possible, to divide larger enterprises into smaller ones, which would survive. It is good to save even 50 percent, or 30 percent if one cannot save the lot.

[Correspondent] Last week a meeting of the so-called Big Four was held, attended by prime minister politician, prime minister economist, prime minister lawyer, and president practician. What can the meeting bring for the future of our country?

[Walesa] Of course, when we think about it, each of the prime ministers was different and each had a different task to perform. Today, there is the need for Polish legal construction both in the economy and other matters. Today, we have a lawyer at the helm of the government, so an engineer, who can fix anything, we also have a lawyer at the helm of the parliament [sentence as heard]. In this connection we have to make an attempt to clean the Polish scene and to outline programs which would be legally coherent and prepared for the era in which we live. If only the new prime minister could solve this here and now, it would be a great achievement; every subsequent prime minister, even as pragmatist, could implement it if he had legal foundations.

[Correspondent] And how do you see the participation of former prime ministers in the implementation of this program? Here I mean Mazowiecki and Bielecki.

[Walesa] As I have already said, one has to remember—a politician and an economist, but they did not have legal conditions. One should not reject experiences, one should make use of whatever is good; one should reject what is wrong, naturally. And if we go on like this, jointly, we may be able to do much more. I should like to make use of all the possibilities, even those from the past, in order that those difficult programs we are facing can be implemented.

Olszewski Rules Out Force Against General Strike

LD2601201392 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1900 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] The government is faced wth the need to create an emergency rescue program, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski told the television program "Without an Anesthetic" [Bez Znieczulenia]. An examination of the state of the economy shows this, because the government cannot accept what it has inherited without an attempt to draw up an inventory. Confiming that the present cabinet will not use force against a possible general strike, the prime minister said tht the government did not have the right to give way to the demands articulated in the form of, for example, a hunger strike. That was not the way to arrange matters in a democratic state.

Three Deputy Finance Ministers Offer Resignations

LD2401060192 Warsaw PAP in English 0032 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 23—Three deputy finance ministers Wojciech Misiag, Andrzej Podsiadlo and Stefan Kawalec offered to resign, said the Finance Ministry spokesman Andrzej Moroz on Thursday [23 January]. The resignations have not yet been considered by the newly appointed Minister of Finance Karol Lutkowski.

Vice-Ministers Wojciech Misiag and Andrzej Podsiadlo helped the former Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz introduce his tough reform programme. Karol lutkowski said they had offered to resign before he replaced Balcerowicz as finance minister.

The resignation of Misiag, in charge of putting the budget together, may be difficult for Jan Olszewski's government at the moment when the 1992 budget is being drafted.

Sejm Approves Interim First Quarter Budget

LD2501225692 Warsaw PAP in English 2229 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25—After a three-day heated debate, the Sejm (lower house) adopted on Saturday [25 January] the provisional budget for the first quarter of 1992 with only minor changes to the government proposals. The deficit has not been changed and amounts to 17.6 trillion zlotys (1.6 billion dollars). The house also passed the budget-related laws.

Before the vote, Finance Minister Karol Lutkowski called on deputies to adopt the budget without amendments which would increase the already huge deficit. "The direction of changes initiated two years ago should be continued. The effects of an attempt to withdraw made in mid-1990 proved disastrous and only confirmed the correctness of the chosen direction," the minister argued.

The Sejm adopted a law on the principles of financial administration of the state, and rejected as premature the motion to increase wages in the budget sector to 100 per cent of the average pay in production sector. The sectors being in the greatest need—education, health and agriculture—shared between them the 500 billion zlotys coming from the Polish Science Fund.

In line with the government's proposal, the chamber decided to limit the unemployment benefit to a uniform 36 per cent of average income in the economy. At the same time the deputies approved the principle of valorizing pensions three times a year. In the first case the budget will

save some one trillion zlotys (100 million dollars), but the second solution will require nearly as much spending on an annual scale.

The house also rejected the motion to increase the upper ceiling of income tax from individual tax payers to 50 per cent, but voted for the liquidation of remission of credits for flats.

After four successive rounds of voting held till the small hours of Saturday, the chamber failed to elect the president of the Supreme Board of Inspection (NIK). Of four candidates for the post, namely Andrzej Gaberle supported by the Democratic Union, Henryk Klata backed by the Christian National Union, Jozef Oleksy of the Democratic Left Alliance and Solidarity-backed Zbigniew Romaszewski, only the latter qualified for the final round, but fell short by 20 votes of the required absolute majority. The whole procedure will have to be repeated. The Sejm set February 4 as the deadline for naming new candidates. The first one was already put forward, that of the present acting head of NIK Piotr Kownacki. NIK has been without president since its former head Walerian Panko died in a car crash last year.

Because of lack of time, the chamber decided to leave some items of the agenda till the next meeting scheduled for January 30 when it will hear the government's report on effects of the rise of energy prices. The Sejm obliged the government to present the report to the public shortly.

[Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish at 1254 GMT on 25 January notes that the interim budget bill was passed after voting took place on numerous amendments to the bill, with 236 deputies voting in favor, 89 deputies against, and 19 abstentions. Polish radio adds at 2030 GMT that the interim budget for 1 January-31 March 1992 was passed with 195 deputies voting in favor, 135 against, and three abstentions.]

Army 'Purge' Reportedly To Happen 'This Week'

LD2701095192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0530 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] SZTANDAR MLODYCH suggests that a purge is to take place in the army this week. Apparently, cadre decisions have already been made. There only continues speculations concerning their extent in the apparatus of the Ministry of National Defense, the General Staff, and at higher command posts. If the rumor proves to be true, it would mean that, after purging the local administration machine, the new authority has started to create a structure of "ours" in the institution, which constantly enjoys the greatest public confidence in all opinion polls, SZTANDAR MLODYCH states bitingly.

Gas Shortage Brings Steelworks Industry to Halt

LD2401215292 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1615 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] A gas power load factor of 12 is currently in force in Poland. This signifies a drastic reduction in supplies to large consumers, metallurgical works, and factories. Huta Warszawa's chief power engineer reports that gas supplies which had already been restricted to 5,000 cubic meters per hour have fallen to 1,450 cubic meters. This means production in all steelworks sectors has ground to a halt. Furnaces have been turned off due to the emergency, causing enormous material losses. Gas from Russia apparently is reaching Poland according to plan, although there is 40 percent less of it than last year. The low external temperature and, as a result, the greater need for gas on the part of individual consumers have also had an effect on the reduction of the power load factor. The National Gas Distribution Center says that a power load factor of 10 may be announced when it gets warmer. This does not constitute a big difference for the supplier; for the steelworks, it's a question of to be or not to be. The government press office says that the recent increase in gas prices had nothing to do with restrictions on gas supplies from Russia. Reductions in imports from the territory of the former USSR were planned and agreed earlier. The government must have known about the possible shortage of gas. Zbigniew Rykowski, head of the press office, minimized the reduction in the power load factor. He was surprised when we informed him of the halt in Huta Warszawa production. There won't be enough gas for industry even if it gets warmer in the next few days, and the future will remain uncertain.

Foreign Ministry Official on CIS Aid Meeting

AU2401180992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1308 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/1/1992—An international conference in Washington on the coordination of aid from developed countries to the independent states of the former Soviet Union was attended for Romania by a delegation led by Secretary of State Constantin Ene, head of the Foreign Ministry's International Law and International Organizations Division.

Romania's invitation to attend the conference was not based on the assumption that Romania or other former socialist states in Central and East Europe could be donors, Mr. Ene said. Its presence shows on the one hand that it has definitely taken the road to democracy and developed links with such international structures as are apt to support an effort on the scale that assistance to the community of independent states requires, and on the other hand that the Central and East European states may support the processes in the former Soviet Union. Romania, for instance, has the advantage of proximity, of good knowledge of the problems facing the community of independent states, and of past experience in economic cooperation with the Soviet Union in house building or oil-field equipment manufacture. From that angle Romania suggested that commodities or services to be supplied in aid to the Community of Independent States be bought by developed countries from Central and East European countries, which would be to the benefit of all. That concept of trilateral relationship was accepted, said Mr. Ene who added that Romania was also concerned at that conference that the Republic of Moldova be among the independent states of the former Soviet Union eligible for international aid, which it is.

Republican Party Backs Creation of Union Council

AU2401181392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1052 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/1/1992—The Republican Party backs the initiatives of uniting the Romanian territories with the mother country and expresses its satisfaction at the setting up of the National Union Council, reads a message this political party sent to ROMPRES.

The commissions of the National Union Council, the same for the Romanians on both banks of the Prut to be set up during the festivities in Iasi, occasioned by the anniversary of 133 years since the union of the Romanian principalities (January 24, 1859) will speed up the process of cultural, religious, legislative and economic integration of the Romanian population and territories in Bessarabia, Bukovina and Herta.

The message asks the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry to reestablish the state department for Romanian diaspora.

State Secretary Biji on Wage-Price Situation

AU2401201592 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Jan 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with State Secretary Mihu Biji, prime minister's representative in trade union negotiations, by Dan Vardie; place and date not given: "We Propose Not To Lower the Standard of Living Below the October 1990 Level"]

[Excerpt] [Vardie] For a citizen paying 1,000 lei to buy one kilogram of salami, it is justified to ask for a 24,000 lei minimum salary. Starting from this point, what are the trade union arguments for this minimum salary?

[Biji] There are several arguments. The first, which they seem to have abandoned, represents the minimum salary that existed before the price liberalization. It was calculated in dollars, and related to the current exchange rate of the dollar would mean a certain minimum salary. We know very well, however, how the official exchange rate was established before. The second argument took into consideration the so-called basket of consumer goods for a family, multiplied by the median prices—actually maximum prices—on the Bucharest market. The content of the basket includes 32 items selected with the assistance of the National Commission for Statistics. The result of our calculations is a minimum salary of up to 10,000 lei, even if the consumption taken into account was not minimum but median. Another argument says that by increasing demand—because we spend more money—we will stimulate production and provision of services. The stimulation of production through demand works in an overproduction crisis, but Romania is suffering underproduction. This means that application of this argument will result in nothing but higher prices. In 1929, the great crisis was that we had too much wheat and could not sell it. Now, we have no wheat. Prices had fallen dramatically then, which is exactly the opposite of the current situation. Another theory is that by demanding a minimum salary one would accelerate reform, forcing the enterprises to lay off those whom they cannot pay any longer. Here lies the danger. In this way, I can force certain enterprises into bankruptcy, although they could be profitable under certain circumstances. All this through an arbitrary decision. We admit unemployment only through restructuring and in no other way.

[Vardie] On Tuesday [14 January] evening during the talks with the CNC [National Consultative Council] some new elements emerged....

[Biji] No new arguments appeared but the tactics have changed. In accordance with the Constitution and laws, the executive branch can consult with the trade unions and either take their suggestions into consideration or disregard them. As you see, they have established a reserve tactics although up to that moment we had witnessed real negotiations.

[Vardie] Mr. Minister, taking into consideration your position and the true prospects a declining economy, please state the position of the executive as far as the minimum salary being demanded is concerned.

[Biji] As you know, the gross domestic product includes consumption. If we granted such salaries, we would cover it in a way as to make other types of consumption—in the form of income—disappear. The zero increase estimate is the most optimistic and is contingent on external financing of 1.7-2 billion dollars. Under these conditions we can only propose not to lower the standard of living below the October 1990 level, which was considered the baseline. This requires, as a concurrent tactic, the indexation of salaries according to the increase of prices. If we disrupt the salary system by tripling or quadrupling salaries, we would only disrupt the price system as well, thus triggering spiraling inflation. We would only profit for a few days from this salary increase. [passage omitted]

Government Spokesman Addresses High Meat Prices

AU2401181192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1243 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/1/1992—As already reported, government spokesman Iolanda Staniloiu approached among other things in the January 23 news briefing the matter of the recent rather high rises in the prices with meat and meat preparations.

In that context, she presented an account made by the experts of a government commission as well as by other members of the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism.

The main findings were, said Iolanda Staniloiu, that the economic agents artificially inflated the prices (including also in the prices the salary indexation made under government decisions) which led to 17.6 per cent rises with beef and 30.7 per cent with pork as compared with the previous prices. The account points out that three of the four agents where the findings were made had made up reserve funds to "cover possible losses" which led to increasing the costs of the meat preparations.

After the check up, Iolanda Staniloiu reported, two of the economic agents cut their prices by 10 to 25 per cent.

In view of averting such profiteering prices, the relevant ministries decided that the prices with meat, meat preparations and dairy should be established by the economic agents together with the territorial bodies of the respective ministries and only with the advice of experts.

Industry Minister Evaluates Industrial Activity

AU2401180592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1615 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/1/1992—The main positive element in the activity of the Ministry of Industry, since November 1991, has been power stability, in general, and power stability in economy in general, the minister of industry, Dan Constantinescu, told a news conference on Friday, 24 January. That has been done with no international support, he mentioned. The industry, at a national level, has managed not to worsen the deficit of the commercial balance, its negative contribution representing 0.16 per cent. That means the industry has brought hard currency in and not out of the country. The export of industrial goods was 550 million dollars in December, as against an annual average of 250-300 million dollars, mentioned Mr. Constantinescu.

Almost one-quarter of the commercial companies of the industrial field have a productive activity, that has reached the level of 1989, which is encouraging, although one should be cautious, as the difficult process of transition to the market economy has many unknowns. But the foundations have been set for the industrial commercial companies to exceed in 1992 the level of the 1989 output.

The financial deblocking was expected to be solved in the month of January, but the process of talks are under way, to establish minimum increases of industrial product prices.

Mr. Dan Constantinescu informed the press that the network of economic representations would be revitalized in a number of geographical points of interest for Romania.

Decision on Government Tasks for Local Elections

92BA0392A Bucharest MONITORUL OFICIAL in Romanian 18 Dec 91 pp 1-6

["Text" of Decision on Measures for Implementing the Tasks Assigned to the Government Under the Law on Local Elections]

[Text] The Government of Romania decrees:

Article 1

In order to ensure the implementation of all the tasks incumbent on the government and on the central and local bodies of the state administration as specified byr Law No. 70 of 26 November 1991 on local elections, a technical team will be formed whose composition is specified in the annex to the present decision.

Article 2

The technical team will ensure the implementation of the legal provisions and the measures featured in the electoral timetable, with a view to achieving the actions specified.

Article 3

Within five days, the Ministry of Economy and Finance will present recommendations on paying the salaries of the members of the electoral bureaus and commissions, statisticians, and auxiliary technical personnel for the

period during which they are instructed to carry out the operations involved in the organization and holding of the elections.

Article 4

By 12 December 1991, the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the Ministry of Industry, and the Ministry of Culture will present recommendations on ensuring the necessary materiel and printed matter required for preparing and holding the local elections and for funding them.

Article 5

The Ministry of Justice will produce a list of magistrates who may be designated, according to the law, as members of the district electoral commissions.

Article 6

The Ministry of Communications will ensure efficient telephone connections between the district electoral commissions and the electoral bureaus of the voting centers, and with the Central Electoral Commission.

Article 7

The Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of National Defense will act to ensure public peace and order in all the country's localities throughout the electoral campaign, especially on election day and in the days prior and following that day.

The Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior will take measures to provide electoral lists for the standing Army troops, in accordance with the law.

Article 8

The National Commission for Statistics will provide the necessary number of statisticians to carry out the technical operations involved in determining the results of the election, and will instruct the managing cadres of county statistics directorates on the participation of experts and auxiliary personnel in carrying out those operations.

The National Commission for Statistics, in conjunction with the Ministry of Culture, will ensure the printing of the necessary forms (reports) for determining the results of the elections.

Article 9

The Ministry of Education and Science will take measures to ensure the organization of voting centers at schools and to provide teachers to carry out technical operations at the voting centers and electoral districts.

Article 10

The Health Ministry will take measures to ensure medical assistance at the voting centers.

Article 11

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will provide the necessary personnel for protocol activities at the Central Electoral Commission and will accredit foreign observers and media representatives, according to the law.

Article 12

Within three days of the date of the present decision, the Department for Local Public Administration will organize the instruction of prefects, the general mayor of the Bucharest Municipality, and the secretaries regarding the tasks incumbent on them for the preparation and trouble-free holding of the local elections, and will assist the Central Electoral Commission with specialized personnel.

During the electoral campaign, the Department for Local Public Administration will carry out monitoring and professional assistance activities in the counties, at prefectures, and town halls, regarding the unfolding of the actions featured in the timetable for implementing the provisions of Law No. 70/1991.

Article 13

The secretary general of the government will ensure the necessary material conditions (offices, technical and material equipment, and auxiliary personnel) for the Central Electoral Commission.

Article 14

The team formed in accordance with Article 1 will periodically report to the government about the status of implementation of the actions featured in the timetable for the preparation and holding of local elections.

Prime Minister
Theodor Stolojan

Bucharest, 12 December 1991

No. 824

ANNEX

Team Composition

Paul Jerbas, secretary general of the government; Ioan Les, secretary of state at the Department for Local Public Administration; Mircea Vaida, secretary of state at the Department for Local Public Administration; Radu Giroveanu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Justice; Aurel Berea, secretary of state at the Ministry of Economy and Finance; Brigadier General Gheorghe Voinea, secretary of state at the Ministry of National Defense; Major General Gheorghe Carp, secretary of state at the Ministry of the Interior; Gheorghe Tinca, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Lucian Motiu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Industry; Sorin Cristea, secretary of state at the Ministry of Education and Science; Andor Horvath, secretary of state at the Ministry of Culture; Virgil Popescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Communications; Alexandru Bunea, secretary

of state at the Ministry of Transportation; Victor Babusceac, secretary of state at the Ministry of Health; Cornel Grigorut, secretary of state at the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism; Petru Pepelea, chairman of the National Commission for Statistics; Alexandru Radocea, deputy chairman of the National Commission for Statistics; Damian Popescu, chairman of the National Data Processing Commission; Dorel Sandor, secretary of state at the Department for Social-Political Structures; Dragomir Caius, secretary of state at the Government's Department of Information; Romeo Nadasan, secretary general of the ROMPRES National Press Agency; Florin Bratescu, chief editor of the Romanian Radio and Television.

Secretarial services for the technical team will be ensured by the Department for Local Public Administration.

Timetable for Carrying Out the Actions Specified in Law No. 70/1991 on Local Elections

Legal deadline	Action	Party responsible	Manner of implementation
8 December 1991 (Art. 7)	Set the date of local elections	Department for Public Local Administration	Government decision
8 December 1991 (Art. 45)	Electoral campaign opens	—	—
As of 9 December 1991 (Art. 14)	Compile electoral lists in at least six copies, of which: the original will be filed with the court; one copy for the electoral district; one copy to be posted at the voting center; one copy to be posted in public places, and one to be kept at the town hall; if the list is to be posted in several public places, sufficient copies are to be ensured. One copy will be kept to be remitted to the voting center two days prior to election day. The original copy for the standing Army troops will be kept at the unit	Town halls	The town halls will take measures to identify the voting personnel in their locality of residence, using as the point of departure the electoral lists used for the 8 December 1991 referendum, agricultural registers, and local police records. Identification measures will also be taken by the military units. Between 9 December 1991-8 January 1992 the military units will compile special lists
Within three days of challenges being filed (Art. 17, par. 2	Resolve challenges regarding omission from electoral lists	Town halls	By decision
Three days after registration (Art. 17, par. 3)	Resolve appeals of decisions taken on challenges	The courts	Court decision, which is final and is communicated within 24 hours of being handed down
By 12 December 1991 (Art. 106)	Design the pattern of electoral lists	Department for Local Public Administration	By government decision.
By 12 December 1991 (Art. 21, par. 6)	Compile a list of other jurists or persons of a flawless reputation who do not belong to any political party or group, from among whom a chairman and deputy can be designated for the district electoral commission	The prefect; for the Bucharest Municipality, the general mayor	—
By 14 December 1991 at the latest (Art. 9)	Number the electoral districts in each county and in the municipality of Bucharest	The prefectures and the Bucharest City Hall	By decision
By 14 December 1991 (Art. 21, par. 5)	Designate magistrates to the district electoral commissions	The president of the county court or of Bucharest Municipal Court	By drawing
By 14 December 1991 (Art. 47, par. 1	Designate special places for electoral posters	Town halls	By decision
By 14 December 1991 (Art. 100, paras 1 and 2)	Form the Central Electoral Commission	President of the Supreme Court of Justice	By drawing
By 18 December 1991 at the latest (Art. 10)	Publicize the numbering of the electoral districts for the election of local councils and mayors	Communal, town, and municipal town halls and those of the Bucharest Municipality	By posting the order issued by the prefect and the mayor general of Bucharest Municipality
By 19 December 1991 (Art. 40, paras 1 and 5)	Design electoral symbols and communicate them to the district electoral commissions	Political parties and groups	—
By 20 December 1991 (Art. 23)	Enter challenges regarding the formation of district electoral commissions	Interested parties and persons. Resolved by the courts	By decision

Timetable for Carrying Out the Actions Specified in Law No. 70/1991 on Local Elections (Continued)

Legal deadline	Action	Party responsible	Manner of implementation
By 24 December 1991 (Art. 23)	Resolve challenges to the formation of district electoral commissions	The courts	By decision
By 24 December 1991 (Art. 40, par. 6)	Resolve conflicts between parties that present the same electoral symbol	The Central Electoral Commission	By drawing
By 25 December 1991 (Art. 40, par. 6)	Communicate the results of the drawing	Central Electoral Commission	—
By 29 December 1991 (Art. 13, par. 1)	Delimitate and number the voting centers	Town halls	By decision
By 29 December 1991 (Art. 13, par. 2)	Inform the voters about the boundaries and numbering of voting centers and their location	Town halls	By posting the decision
By 30 December 1991 (Art. 40, par. 6)	Communicate to the district electoral commission the new electoral symbol in cases in which several parties initially chose the same symbol and it was assigned by drawing to one of the parties in question	Political parties and groups that chose another symbol in the wake of a drawing	—
By 3 January 1992 (Art. 40, par. 7)	Communicate the electoral symbols to the prefectures for the purpose of printing them on the ballots	District electoral commissions	—
By 8 January 1992 at the latest (Art. 16, par. 1)	Visibly post the electoral lists in public places	Town halls	—
By 9 January 1992 (Art. 30)	Enter candidates for councilors and mayors	Political parties and groups, or independent candidates	—
By 9 January 1992 (Art. 37, par. 1)	Fill in a report on the expiration of the deadline for entering candidacies	District electoral commission	—
By 19 January 1992 at the latest (Art. 19, par. 1)	Communicate the number of voters to the district electoral commission	Town halls	—
By 19 January 1992 at the latest (Art. 24, par. 6)	File the list of names of the representatives of political parties and groups who will be designated to the electoral bureaus of the voting centers	Political parties and groups	—
By 19 January 1992 at the latest (Art. 106)	Design the control stamps of the voting centers, the "Voted" stamps, the stamps of the district electoral commissions and the Central Electoral Commission, and the form and certificates attesting the election of the councilors and mayor	The Department for Local Public Administration	By government decision
By 20 January 1992 (Art. 36, par. 1)	Enter challenges regarding the candidates	Interested parties	—
By 22 January 1992 at the latest (Art. 21, par. 6)	Compile and send to the courts the lists of jurists or other persons of a flawless reputation, who do not belong to any political party or group, from among whom the chairmen and deputies of the electoral bureaus of the voting centers will be designated by drawing by the president of the county court or the Bucharest Municipal Court	Prefectures and town halls	—
By 23 January 1992 (Art. 22, subpar. e)	Communicate the electoral symbols to the prefectures and the Bucharest Municipal City Hall for the purpose of being printed on the ballots	District electoral commission	—
By at the latest 23 January 1992 (Art. 36, par. 2)	Resolve challenges regarding the acceptance or rejection of candidacies	The courts and the Bucharest Municipal Tribunal	—

Timetable for Carrying Out the Actions Specified in Law No. 70/1991 on Local Elections (Continued)

Legal deadline	Action	Party responsible	Manner of implementation
By 23 January 1992 (Art. 21, par. 11)	Compile and communicate to the chairmen of the district electoral bureaus the lists of persons not belonging to any political party or group from which members will be designated to district electoral commissions and voting center bureaus, in cases in which the political parties do not designate their own representatives	Town halls	—
By 24 January 1992 at the latest (Art. 24, par. 4)	Appoint the chairmen and deputies of the electoral bureaus of the voting centers	The presidents of the county courts and of the Bucharest Municipal Tribunal and their deputies; the chairman of the district electoral commission for the other members	—
By 24 January 1992 (Art. 36, par. 2)	Communicate the decisions taken on challenged candidates	County courts or the Bucharest Municipal Tribunal	—
24 January 1992 (Art. 37, par. 3)	Candidacies become final	—	—
On 25 January 1992 (Art. 21, par. 1[illegible]	Parties communicate the number of candidates entered and finalized, and designate their representatives to the district electoral commissions	Political parties and groups. The communication will be entered at the county courts or the court of Bucharest Municipality, which will relay it to the district electoral bureaus.	—
On 25 January 1992 (Art. 24)	Fill out the electoral bureaus of voting centers with representatives of the political parties and groups	The chairman of the voting center electoral bureau	—
By 27 January 1992 (Art. 1, par. 8)	Fill out the district electoral commissions with the representatives designated by the political parties and groups, in the decreasing order of the number of candidates proposed	The chairmen of the district electoral commissions, on the basis of the lists of names entered by the political parties and groups	—
By 29 January 1992 (Art. 41, par. 3)	Print the ballots	District electoral commissions, arrangements made by the prefectures	—
By 30 January 1992 (Art. 26)	Enter challenges regarding the formation of the voting centers electoral bureaus	Interested parties	—
By 1 February 1992 at the latest (Art. 26)	Resolve challenges regarding the formation of the electoral bureaus of voting centers	District electoral commission	—
As of 30 January 1992 (Art. 42)	The chairman of the district electoral commission, accompanied by two other members of the commission, will collect the ballots from the city halls, on the basis of a written report	The chairman of the district electoral bureau	—
By 1 February 1992 (Art. 23)	File challenges regarding the filling of the district electoral commissions with party representatives	Interested parties and individuals. Resolved by the courts.	—
By 4 February 1992 at the latest (Art. 43)	Post the electoral lists at city halls and posting centers; post a sample ballot, stamped and cancelled by the chairman of the district electoral commission, at the voting centers	The chairman of the district electoral commission	—
By 5 February 1992 (Art. 23)	Resolve the challenges regarding the formation of the district electoral commissions	The courts	By decision
Midnight 6 February 1992 (Art. 45)	Closing of the electoral campaign	—	—

Timetable for Carrying Out the Actions Specified in Law No. 70/1991 on Local Elections (Continued)

Legal deadline	Action	Party responsible	Manner of implementation
7 February 1992 (Art. 19, par. 2)	Remit the electoral lists to the electoral bureaus of the voting centers	Town halls	—
7 February 1992 (Art. 42)	Remit the ballots to the electoral bureaus of the voting centers accompanied by written reports	District electoral commission	—
8 February 1992, 1800 hours (Art. 49, par. 3)	The chairman of the electoral bureau of the voting center will arrive at the center	—	—
9 February 1992, 0500 hours (Art. 50)	The chairman of the electoral bureau of the voting center will verify, in the presence of the other members, the existence of all the requirements for voting (ballot boxes, lists, ballots, stamps, etc.) and the sealing of the ballot boxes	The chairman of the electoral bureau, in the presence of the other bureau members	—
9 February 1992 between 0600-2100 or 2400, according to case (Art. 52)	Voting	—	—
Midnight 10 February 1992 (Art. 63)	Electoral bureaus of voting centers remit files with the results of the voting to the district electoral commission	Chairman of the electoral bureau of the voting center	—
By 11 February 1992 (Art. 69, par. 7)	Remit one copy of the written reports to the county tribunal or the tribunal of Bucharest Municipality for sending to the Central Electoral Commission	District electoral commission	—
By 12 February 1992 (Art. 69, par. 5)	Remit the file with the election of the mayor to the court for the purpose of validation	Chairman of the district electoral commission	—

International

UN Under Secretary Goulding Arrives in Belgrade

LD2601154492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Servie in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—UN Under Secretary Marrack Goulding arrived in Belgrade this afternoon. Ambassador Dusan Trifunovic and Major General Slavko Jovic, members of the State Committee for Cooperation with UN Representative John Wilson, head of the UN liaison officers; and other members of the UN mission greeted Goulding at Belgrade airport.

Goulding is due to start talks with SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic at the Palace of the Federation immediately upon his arrival.

Milosevic, Goulding Talks 'Useful'

LD2601215392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2114 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic this evening received UN Under Secretary Marrack Goulding and his aides.

In the course of the talks, views were exchanged about the topical issues regarding the realization of the UN peace operation in Yugoslavia.

Following almost two hours of talks, which were held behind closed doors, Goulding made a brief statement for the press in which he assessed the meeting as very useful. "We talked about the existing obstacles to the deployment of the peace-keeping forces in Yugoslavia, and I think that we see the problem in a similar way and that we are thinking along similar lines," Goulding said.

"I think that we all must do everything in our power to convince the leaders of the Krajinas that this plan provides opportunities for peace in Yugoslavia. This is in the interest of everyone," Goulding said when asked whether he thought Slobodan Milosevic could persuade the Krajina leaders to accept the peace plan.

Kostic, Goulding Discuss Peace Plan

LD2601211492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1903 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic this evening received Undersecretary of the UN Secretary General Marrack Goulding, who arrived in Yugoslavia this afternoon in connection with preparations for the arrival of blue helmets.

Their talks in the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade were attended by members of the State Committee for Cooperation with UN Representatives, Federal Executive Council Vice President Aleksandar Mitrovic, Colonel General Andrija Raseta, Ambassador Dusan Trifunovic, UN special military adviser Colonel Heikki Purola, and UN special political adviser Shashi Tharoor.

Following their two-hour talks, which were held behind closed doors, Goulding was asked by a journalist what is being offered to the Serb people in Krajina—new explanations of the peace plan or new guarantees. He replied that he has come with explanations and guarantees, but did not elaborate what he meant by that.

Goulding went on to say that he has had exhaustive talks with Vice President Kostic regarding the remaining obstacles that should be overcome before the peace-keeping forces arrive. We achieved, he added, a high degree of agreement regarding the obstacles, and then we talked about ways of removing them.

Asked what those obstacles are, Goulding first spoke about the cease-fire. The situation in this respect is now much better than when I was last in Yugoslavia, he said, and added that the 2 January Sarajevo agreement has had good effects. Although the situation is better than before, Goulding remarked, there are still some cease-fire violations and it is tragic that people are still dying.

The second topic Goulding said, refers to the fact that those whose cooperation can influence the success of the peace operation must be the first to accept the peace plan. This is one of the things to be examined during my visit, Goulding said in conclusion. He said he was in a hurry to hold talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Will the Army stay in Krajina, a journalist asked First Vice President Branko Kostic at the press conference following the Kostic-Goulding talks. If we fully implement Cyrus Vance's peace plan, he replied, "then that area will be demilitarized, but only after UN forces take full control of the area and take over the task of protecting the Serb people in the Republic of Serbian Krajina."

Kostic told the reporters that he discussed with Goulding aspects of the peace plan which had been criticized and which have met with reserve on the part of the Krajina leadership and people. "Of course, we did not expect that basic elements of Cyrus Vance's plan could be changed at this moment," Kostic said, and went on to specify that mutual agreement regarding the interpretation of the plan was reached during the course of the talks.

First of all, he explained, the deployment of the peace-keeping forces means the end of war and the establishment of peace, and not a political settlement; the blue helmets will remain until the political solution is found. The Krajina authorities will continue to function as long as "that territory is treated as a protectorate or as a territory under UN protection."

Asked when peacekeeping forces are expected to arrive, Kostic said that both sides concluded this evening that

the cease-fire has been mainly observed and that this is not an obstacle to the arrival of the blue helmets. "The remaining task is to secure the agreement of the Krajina leadership and to eliminate their reservations during the talks that Mr. Goulding will have with them," Kostic said.

Continuing, Kostic stressed: "Failure to implement the peace plan means that only the war option remains, which would mean a long and exhausting war from which nobody would benefit. Therefore, the Yugoslav Presidency, Goulding was also told, persists in its stand that the peace plan must be implemented in full. We again expressed complete confidence in the mission of Cyrus Vance and his associates, and also in the authority of the UN Security Council as the best guarantee for the protection of the Serb people on the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina until an adequate political solution has been found."

In reply to a question on whether Goulding came to Yugoslavia with some new guarantees, Kostic said there would not be any additional guarantees "apart from official interpretations that are contained in the peace plan, which have so far caused various comments and wrong interpretations." He said that he informed Goulding that Franjo Tudjman and certain other Croatian officials have caused additional confusion, uncertainty, and fear with some statements and moves, wrongly interpreting "precisely those issues that we clarified this evening."

We expect Goulding, and later Cyrus Vance, to publicly announce everyone's views on the peace plan, Kostic said, and added he could not imagine that this plan could be left unimplemented just because of the reservations of the Krajina leadership.

To a question on whether Milan Babic observes the SFRY Presidency's decisions, Kostic recalled that the day before the Presidency accepted the peace plan, Babic said he would implement it and would observe the Presidency's decisions. "I do not fully understand why different statements and different stands were later presented," Branko Kostic concluded.

Agreement Reached

LD2701030992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2215 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, January 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Presidency Vice-President Branko Kostic and Under Secretary at the United Nations Marrack Goulding cleared up on Sunday night in Belgrade the disputed interpretations of Cyrus Vance's peace plan for sending the U.N. peace-keeping force to Yugoslavia.

During two hours of closed-door talks, an accord was reached on which obstacles should be removed that stood in the way of realization of the peace plan and on the manner of their removal.

As may be inferred from the joint press conference, Kostic and Goulding assessed that the ceasefire agreement—reached in Sarajevo on January 2—produced favorable effects and that the sporadic violations of ceasefire should not be taken as a hindrance to sending the U.N. peace-keeping force.

As regards the refusal of the Republic of Serbian Krajina—a region in Croatia and the scene of fighting—to accept to the full Vance's peace plan, Kostic and Goulding were agreed that the obstacles should be removed in negotiations with Krajina's representatives.

Goulding noted that it was the joint assessment that those on whose cooperation the success of the peace operation depended must first accept the U.N. plan. He added that this was the reason he brought additional explanations and guarantees for Serbs in Krajina.

Vance's peace plan had been accepted by the republics of Croatia and Serbia, while the representatives of the Republic of Serbian Krajina seek additional guarantees that the Serbian people would be protected until a political solution was reached and demanded that the U.N. troops be deployed on the line dividing the conflicting sides, and not deeper inside their territory.

Presidency Vice-President Kostic explained that he discussed with Goulding the questions which invited most criticism and reservations among the Serbs in Krajina, as well as different interpretations of Vance's plan.

"I have informed Goulding that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and some statements and moves of certain representatives of the Croatian authorities have aggravated fear and distrust among the Serbs," he said.

The Croatian leaders have in the recent days frequently pointed out that Vance's peace plan is to return to them the territories in a peaceful way, and that if this did not happen they would continue war to take them back.

Kostic noted that he and Goulding gave the disputed interpretations of the Vance plan the same meaning and stated the hope that Goulding, and later Vance, would come out publicly with the interpretation of the peace plan, so as to avoid plan not being accepted over the reservation of the leadership of the Krajina.

In Kostic's view, the engagement of the peace-keeping force would mean only end to war and restoration of peace and did not prejudice political solutions, as the "blue helmets" would remain in the Serb lands until a political solution was reached.

Speaking of the demilitarization of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, he said, it will be carried out, but only when the U.N. peace-keeping force takes full control of the area and undertakes protection of the people there, Kostic said.

Kostic repeated that the Presidency of Yugoslavia remained firmly committed to the stand that Vance's peace plan must be realized to the full.

Demilitarization Detailed

AU2501213392 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Interview with Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, by correspondent Zeljko Avramovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Avramovic] Mr. Vice President, I would ask you to explain the provision of Cyrus Vance's plan concerning demilitarization of the territory on which the blue helmets will be deployed.

[Kostic] There is a lot of disinformation, wrong information, in connection with this, especially among the people in the Republic of the Serbian Krajina.

The peacekeeping troops are supposed to be deployed, and their deployment will begin on the demarcation line. Therefore, the deployment of UN observers and troops will begin where the front is at the moment. Under the supervision of the UN officers and observers it will be ensured that both warring sides initially will pull back for 400 meters on each side. In this way the sides will be separated to a distance of shooting range for infantry arms and the UN observers and forces will also be stationed on this territory.

Later, once these troops are deployed and a complete separation is achieved— actually these troops must be accommodated somewhere. [sentence as received] This is a large number of people, they must live somewhere. These observers will practically work three shifts, during 24 hours, but when they are off duty they must live somewhere and, for this reason, they will be placed on the territory in sturdy buildings and so on, and most certainly in the urban regions where they will have normal living conditions.

There is no political background for the demilitarization of this region. Wherever the UN troops were deployed in the past, the region was always demilitarized. Wherever the UN army, the peacekeeping troops, are stationed, there is no other army.

The withdrawal of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] and the demilitarization of this region will be carried out only after the deployment of the UN peacekeeping troops on this entire territory has been completed and once the UN peacekeeping forces have fully resumed their function.

However, what people most often forget when discussing the security of this nation [the Serbian nation in Krajina], is the fact that over 80 percent of the men currently stationed on the front on the territory of the Republic of the Serbian Krajina are local people. Therefore, upon the demilitarization and withdrawal of the JNA, these people will not pull out. They will return from the front to their houses and take off their uniforms. The weapons they posses will not leave this region—weapons will be kept here, in the ammunition dumps that will be controlled by the local, Serbian, police. Therefore, the weapons will be at arms' reach, if need be.

We also envisaged that the JNA be deployed in all border regions, that is to say, on the territory approximately 60 to 80 km away from the border. So, if the need arises, the mechanized units of our Army could come from one side of the border to the other in two to three hours' time, as they will be passing through their own territory, the territory of their own nation.

[Avramovic] Mr. Vice President, thank you.

[Kostic] Thank you.

Jovic Supports UN Peacekeeping Force at Front

LD2701112292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1040 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, January 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Armed Forces chief of the General Staff advisor for the UN peacekeeping force Major General Slavko Jovic said he "believed in the positive role of the UN peacekeeping force on the Yugoslav battlefronts."

In an interview published in today's Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI, Jovic underscores that "the deployment of the peacekeeping force is the road to peace," and that "everything else leads to war with unforseeable consequences and the possibility of its spreading across Yugoslavia's borders."

"The UN expects that Yugoslavia will foot the bill" for the anticipated ten battalions, while "the Yugoslav state commission for the implementing of the UN peace plan believes that the UN will cover the costs," says Major General Jovic, and warns that "Yugoslavia does not have the money."

"The main concept in the deploying of the UN peacekeeping force is to stop the civil war, and to place the crisis areas under UN control," said Major General Jovic, underscoring that "the concept did not prejudice the political solution which the nations of Yugoslavia must find through democratic negotiations."

"The most delicate talks," according to Jovic, will be conducted with president of the Republic of Serb Krajina Milan Babic and prime minister of the Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia Goran Hadzic—which is part of the Republic of Serb Krajina, "who still object to the departure of Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) units from the area."

Serbs proclaimed the Republic of Serb Krajina in the area of Croatia where they are the majority population in answer to Croatia's secession, in which they were accored the status of a national minority, as well as out of fear that they would be subject to the genocide they went through during World War Two in the puppet independent state of Croatia.

Major General Jovic gained experience with the work of the UN peacekeeping force in the Sinai where he was UN secretary-general assistant and the UN peacekeeping force commander on the Iraq-Iran front from August-November 1990.

Federal

Presidency Members Sign Peace Declaration

LD2401172692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—The declaration of Bosnia- Hercegovina's peace, freedom, coexistence, and indivisibility sponsored by the Association of Humanists [Udruzenje Humanista] and SVIJET weekly was signed in Sarajevo today.

The declaration was signed by members of the republican Presidency, with the exception of Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic; Assembly Vice President Mariofil Ljubic; Jure Pelivan, the government president; Professor Dr. Seid Hukovic, on behalf of the Academy of Science and Art; Jakub Selimoski, head of the Yugoslav Islamic Community; Monsignor Vinko Puljic; Ivan Cernjeses, head of Sarajevo's Jewish community; media representatives; and many other public personalities.

Government Devalues Dinar By 500 Percent

LD2501155892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1503 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav national currency, the dinar, will be devalued by 500 percent as of midnight today, as the Yugoslav Information Secretariat announced today. The federal government has set the dinar's new exchange rate at 65 dinars per one Deutsche mark. The official rate has so far stood at 13 dinars per one Deutsche mark. The dinar's exchange rate against the other hard currencies will be calculated on the basis of the "principle of correctly crossed rates on the foreign-currency market." The Deutsche mark has fetched between 80 and 100 Yugoslav dinars on the black market in the past several days.

Interrepublic

Serbia, Montenegro Unification Head Resigns

LD2401154392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 24 January (TANJUG)—The president of the Movement for the Unification of Serbia and Montenegro, Milenko Ribic, tendered his resignation today and informed the public about it. In a special statement, he said that the resignation will be reviewed at an assembly session of this movement, which will be held as planned immediately following the annoucement of the results of the Montenegrin referendum.

Ribic tendered resignation because more than a year ago, the Movement submitted a request to the assemblies of Serbia and Montenegro to hold a referendum on the unification of these two republics in one state. The Montenegrin Assembly has not answered this request. The Serbian Assembly has not announced its stand on the proposal of the Movement either. [passage omitted]

Bosnia-Hercegovina

President Says No Separate Islamic State

LD2601153992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1325 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, January 26 (TANJUG)—President of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Alija Izetbegovic has said that the forming of a Moslem state in the territory of this multi-ethnic Yugoslav republic or in one of its parts is not what the local Moslem population would desire.

In an interview to the Zagreb weekly NEDELJNI VJESNIK, Izetbegovic said that most Moslem intellectuals and politicians in Bosnia-Hercegovina do not approve of the disintegration of the Bosnia-Hercegovina political territory.

"We were always suspicious of fragmentation...and we were always for the survival of entities—reorganized and transformed on the basis of some new foundations," Izetbegovic said, and added that the entity in which Moslems saw Bosnia was "once Yugoslavia, and now Europe."

Izetbegovic believes that an independent and sovereign Bosnia- Hercegovina is definitely in the interest of all nations which live in it.

Bosnia-Hercegovina is often referred to as "little Yugoslavia" because it is an ethnic mix of the country's three biggest nations—Serbs, Croats and Moslems (31 percent, 17 and 44 percent of the republican population, respectively).

The Presidency and the government of the republic, without the agreement of Serbian representatives, late last year asked for the international recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Serbs are against this move because they wish to remain in Yugoslavia.

Under the Bosnia-Hercegovina constitution, decisions of vital importance to the future of the republic can be adopted only through consensus of its three constituent nations.

It is the opinion of Izetbegovic that the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina into three "small states" would lead to one of the nations becoming the leading one in each state and the other two nations becoming national minorities, because the three nations are so intermingled.

Underlining that all three nations are equal in the present Bosnia-Hercegovina, Izetbegovic said that this republic, "in its present shape, but with certain modifications in its internal structure" was actually the best solution for all of them.

Urges Bosnian Independence

LD2601163992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0931 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—An independent and sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina is definitely in the interest of all, and the Muslim nation needs no argument to be convinced. This was stressed, inter alia, by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in an interview published today by the Zagreb-based NEDJELJNI VJESNIK (VJESNIK on SUNDAY).

It is less obvious but no less certain that Bosnia-Hercegovina's independence and sovereignty are in the interest of the other two nations, as well, precisely because of the fact that its population is intermingled. Any other solution will lead to uncertainty and conflict. Even if separation could be achieved without a conflict, through an agreement for instance, the ensuing division would result in the three nations—whose current equal status in Bosnia-Herecegovina is not being questioned by anyone—overnight finding themselves in the position of a national minority.

In other words, according to Izetbegovic, the inevitable outcome of various combinations envisaged if Bosnia-Hercegovina disintegrates would be one leading nation and two national minorities. We therefore insist that a Bosnia-Hercegovina in its present state and with certain modifications in its internal structure is the best solution for all three nations.

I admit, Izetbegovic says, that it is difficult to find a solution for Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is a complicated country. A consistent implementation of democratic principles and European standards is definitely a potent medicine for all our ills. Unfortunately, it appears that in these parts democracy is not yet appreciated. I am convinced that the best way to overcome our problems is to replace national bureaucracies with democracy, Izetbegovic says. This would also give us an opportunity to cross the line, begin resolving economic problems, and give the economy a chance to do the necessary job.

Presenting his view on the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina and on the possibility of creating a Muslim state, Alija Izetbegovic was categorigal: We do not accept the creation of a Muslim state here, because it is not a realistic option. The majority of Muslim intellectuals and politicians in Bosnia-Hercegovina are reluctant about the division of this political territory. In this respect—and I hope that it would not sound pretentious—Europe is our common tutor and our views on these things are European. This is perhaps why we have been more determined in advocating the survival of integration in this area.

We have taken the same stand at The Hague conference. We have always been in favor of the survival of some entities—reorganized and transformed on the basis of fresh principles. We have always viewed fragmentation and parcelling with the same suspicion. In our opinion, even Bosnia-Hercegovina as a whole is a small place. We would consider Bosnia-Hercegovina being integrated in some sort of entity—formerly Yugoslav and now European, but nonetheless an entity.

For this reason these ideas on splitting up Bosnia-Hercegovina, on its parcelling into some kind of Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian mini-states within the present united Bosnia-Hercegovina, seem to us like something completely inappropriate at the present historic moment. This is therefore our stand on a so-called Muslim state within Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Muslim people and their long-term interests need to have a civil state of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is not quite clear to some Muslims, but the vast majority, in particular intellectuals, understand this perfectly well.

A Muslim state within Bosnia-Hercegovina or made up of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Alija Izetbegovic said among other things in his interview for NEDJELJNI VJESNIK, is not our orientation.

Assembly Schedules Referendum 29 Feb-1 Mar

LD2501094392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0742 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—This morning, shortly before 0500 (0400 GMT), after almost 16 hours of debate, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly finally adopted its agenda and immediately resolved the most controversial issue: it endorsed the referendum on the sovereignty and independence of this republic.

The citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina will vote at a referendum on 29 February and 1 March on whether they are for or against Bosnia-Hercegovina as a sovereign, independent state of citizens and nations—Muslims, Serbs, Croatians, and other citizens who live in it. [passage omitted]

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly early this morning relieved National Bank Governor Harjo Balord of his duties and appointed Dr. Jadranko Prlic, a deputy of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina (HDZ-BIH) from Mostar, to this position.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly continues its work today.

Session Suspended

LD2601134192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Deputies of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly were supposed to resume their ninth session today. The session was broken off by President Momcilo Krajisnik on the night of 24 January. However, only 54 deputies, mainly from the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] turned up for the scheduled continuation of the session today.

The Assembly's president confirmed that the session was suspended until further notice due to a lack of quorum.

SDS deputies were then told that an emergency session of the Assembly of Serbian People in Bosnia-Hercegovina would be held today with only one item on the agenda: to analyze the work of the ninth session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly and the illegal resumption of the session after Serbian deputies walked out.

Serbian Deputies Reject Referendum

AU2601165092 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Report by Ljubomir Nikolic on the session of the Council of Ministers of the Serbian Assembly in Sarajevo on 26 January—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Biljana Plavsic [member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency] said that Alija Izetbegovic [president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency] arrived at the ninth Assembly session with an already formulated referendum question and decision, something the republican Presidency knew nothing about.

Radovan Karadzic [SDS president] informed the Serbian deputies that he had reached a compromise with Izetbegovic, but Izetbegovic later changed his mind and left it to Muhamed Cengic [vice president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Executive Council] to explain this change. Afterward, it was easy for Izetbegovic to reject Cengic's proposal and in this way discredit his colleague, Karadzic said.

Professor Dr. Nikola Koljevic [member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency] claimed that Alija Izetbegovic on his way to Brussels left two judges of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Constitutional Court, who were both Muslims, in Paris in order to convince the president of the Arbitration Commission [Jacques Badinter] about the need to hold a referendum in Bosnia-Hercegovina. At the same time Ejub Ganic [member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency] went to see [German Foreign Minister] Genscher under the pretext of holding business talks in Germany. In this way Alija Izetbegovic has been travelling all over Europe trying to convince Europe behind our backs that all the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina stand behind his policies, Koljevic said.

The Assembly of the Serbian Nation today decided that the constitution of the Republic of the Serbian Nation in Bosnia- Hercegovina must be drawn up as soon as possible. They also decided to send a letter to European countries in which the stands of the Serbian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina concerning the referendum will be explained, and especially the proceedings of the session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly and the way in which the decision about the referendum was passed.

The Council of Ministers of the Serbian Assembly must immediately send a letter to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly demanding the drawing up of the separation settlement.

With regard to the illegal replacement of Harjo Balord, governor of the National Bank of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the deputies decided to inform the National Bank of Yugoslavia about their rejection of this replacement. They also decided that all Bosnia-Hercegovina representatives in the organs and institutions of the Federation be sent a letter containing an appeal that they continue performing their duties.

It is perfectly clear now that there can be no agreement or compromise with the Party of Democratic Action and Alija Izetbegovic, as they simply do not want one, SDS President Dr. Radovan Karadzic said at today's session of the Assembly of the Serbian Nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Deputies Call for Division

LD2601175792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—After the failure to resume the latest session of the republic's parliament, the Assembly of the Serb Nation of Bosnia-Hercegovina today met in emergency session to analyze the proceedings of the ninth joint session of the republic's parliament which, contrary to law, proceeded without the presence of deputies of Serb nationality.

It was stressed in the debate that there is no will among the partners (Muslims and Croats) to agree on transforming the republic and that in the light of that, Bosnia-Hercegovina no longer exists and should be divided according to the interests of the three national communities.

Dr. Biljana Plavsic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, asked the Serb Assembly deputies to assess the work of Alija Izetbegovic, president of the republic's Presidency, who, as she put it, personally hindered the republic's parliament in reaching a compromise.

Having noted that Serbs did nothing to cause the present situation, Biljana Plavsic proposed that, before the referendum (on Bosnia's independence) takes place, the Serb nation should set up its own state consisting of its own territories in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Invoking the existing constitution of the SFRY and of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr Nikola Koljevic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, hinted at the possibility of a referendum for each nation because, as he put it, national parties are in power in the republic.

Koljevic also drew attention to Izetbegovic's "ambassadors" who travelled the world seeking international recognition for Bosnia- Hercegovina. He also said that Alija Izetbegovic knew about his (Koljevic's) meeting with Tudjman.

Serbian Democratic Party President Radovan Karadzic stressed that all decisions that the republican assembly passed at its latest session in the absence of the Serbian deputies are considered invalid by this nation.

This refers to the decision on referendum, the recalling of deputies from federal institutions, as well as the replacement of Bosnian National Bank Governor Hajra Balorda.

He also said that at that session he agreed with Alija Izetbegovic about the transformation program, but added that Izetbegovic "duped" Vice President Muhamed Cengic into making this announcement and—according to Karadzic—sacrificed him in the same way as he sacrificed Adil Zulfikarpasic at the time.

The Assembly of the Serb Nation decided that the Ministerial Council should make preparations for the next session to decide about the referendum, which would take place 30 days after the transformation of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The transformation would be verified by the three national assemblies that would come into being as a result of this transformation.

A decision was made to charge both the constitutional commission and the Ministerial Council with preparing by 15 February a draft constitution of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, a draft constitutional law for its implementation, and other documents necessary for the functioning of the Serb republic.

A decision was also made to charge the Ministerial Council with placing a demand to the republican assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina for the final balance sheet, which can be settled after the transformation and confederalization [konfederalizacia] of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Serbs Comment on Referendum

LD2701031892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2233 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, January 26 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina informed on Sunday night the European Community that the Serbs did not oppose the referendum in this Yugoslav republic, but that they demanded a transformation be carried out in this republic towards forming three national communities.

The decision on the referendum on the republic's independence was taken on Saturday by the Croatian and Moslem deputies at the parliament of Bosnia-Hercegovina, without the Serb deputies attending.

The decision was taken after the Moslem-Croatian coalition continued work, despite the parliament's president having concluded the session and called a session for the next day.

The Serb deputies proposed regionalization or cantonization of the republic into three national communities after which the nations would set out their will in a referendum.

The constitutent nations of Bosnia-hercegovina are Moslems (around 43 percent), Serb (around 31 percent) and Croats (around 17 percent).

The Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina feared a referendum of citizens, on which the decision was taken at the parliament on Saturday would result in their being outvoted and that this was why they insisted on a referendum of nations.

Under the republican constitution, all major decision are adopted by way of a consensus of the republic's three constituent nations. Such decisions, however, were taken as a result of outvoting, something the representatives of the Serbian people have been warning the domestic and foreign public about.

Croat, Muslim Deputies' Comment on Referendum

AU2501194692 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Ljubomir Nikolic report]

[Text] The expectations that the party leaders of Bosnia-Hercegovina will reach in two or three days what they could not reach in more than a year proved to be unrealistic. Although Irfan Ajanovic, vice-president of the SFRY Assembly, on 23 January said that the question of the referendum must be resolved through an interparty agreement and with a consensus, the deputies were, in the early morning hours, suddenly presented with an already formulated referendum question. It reads: Are you in favor of a sovereign and independent Bosnia-Hercegovina, a state of equal citizens and nations of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats, and members of other nationalities who live in it?

This text emerged after a debate that lasted several hours, when it became obvious that the opposing stands would not converge. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], tried in vain to convince the deputies that the Serbs only want what they offer to others—guarantees for their sovereignty and the right to decide on their own future. His offer of the

transformation of Bosnia-Hercegovina was not accepted. Instead, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, and his Party of Democratic Action [SDA] remained firm in their stand concerning the referendum and Bosnia-Hercegovina's independence, not hiding the fact that they are in a hurry to try to achieve this objective, and at the same time expressed readiness to (?pass) such a decision without the Serbian deputies.

Just like in the case of the memorandum [on Bosnia-Hercegovina's sovereignty], and on some other occasions, the games and intrigues were then moved from the Assembly hall to the corridors and salons. The SDA and the SDS fought for the (?support) of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ].

[word indistinct] the talks of the leaders of the two parties, the Serbs offered territorial demarcation to Croats—a chance that Western Hercegovina will realize its ancient dream and join Croatia. The hard-line wing of the HDZ, which is oriented toward Zagreb and not toward Sarajevo, accepted this, just like before, but demanded that Karadzic secure the Army's withdrawal from the Croatian territories.

Worried because of the earlier contacts between Nikola Koljevic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and the talks between Karadzic and Boban [not further identified], Alija Izetbegovic offered a customs union of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia to his old coalition partners, assuring them about the chances for realization of some of their other wishes.

Karadzic and Izetbegovic also talked, but these talks turned out to be the least productive.

For one moment it looked as though there was hope that the dispute could be resolved in a manner acceptable to all. Muhamed Cengic, vice president of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Radovan Karadzic took the floor at the Assembly session together. The first one offered regionalization of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the other one transformation of Bosnia-Hercegovina. However, Cengic demanded that this not postpone the independence referendum, while Karadzic insisted upon transformation being the prerequisite for the self- determination of nations. This was the end of illusions about the possibility of an agreement.

Seeing that they would again be outvoted, the Serbs left the session, and afterward the two nations [Croat and Muslim] quickly passed the decision on the referendum and replaced Harjo Balord, governor of the National Bank of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Time will prove to what extent passing decisions in such a manner can secure the preservation of peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina and how accurate were the assessments of those who insisted on a referendum without the consensus of all three nations and who claimed that Europe and the world will, with their authority and even by force, make this republic a truly sovereign and independent state. At the moment, it is completely certain that after last night the tensions here will not decrease. On the contrary, they can only increase.

Bosnian Serbs Refuse to Join JNA

LD2601180592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Tomislav Dretar report from Bihac]

[Text] The so-called Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] no longer enjoys support, even among the Serb population. This is indicated by an increasing number of examples. Following the refusal by reservists in Mrkonjic-Grad to don the olive-green uniforms [of the JNA], Serbs in Bosansko Grahovo, where the JNA's 11th Motorized Brigade—recently transferred from Dalmatia—is stationed, have done the same.

A session of the Bosansko Grahovo Municipal Assembly was attended by representatives of several hundred reservists recently drafted to the JNA. They publicly rejected the call-up by Ratko Mladic, the Knin Corps commander.

Bomb Explosion in Doboj Reported

AU2601203492 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] This morning, at approximately 0400 [0300 GMT] a strong explosion occurred in the center of Doboj. Still unidentified persons planted an explosive underneath a bus with Zagreb license plates, owned by Drago Grgic. The bus was parked outside the Bosna Hotel after it had brought the workers from Doboj who are working in Zagreb and its surroundings over for the weekend.

A bus with Sombor license plates, belonging to the Crvenka Sugar Factory, which was also parked there, was also damaged in the strong explosion.

This is the first premeditated explosion in Doboj. The investigation organs of the Doboj Center for Public Security are still searching for the perpetrators of this act.

Mostar Shooting Incidents Increasing Daily

LD2401204192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Excerpt] The number of shooting incidents by reservists of the occupation army has been increasing daily in Mostar region. The highest-risk zone stretches along the city border between Mostar and Citluk, near Krusevo. In the early afternoon hours today sporadic fire came from enemy strongholds in the surrounding mountains. This shooting intensified when a team of the Split studio of Croatian television arrived in the area, while occupation army reservists stationed in the hills overlooking the

Mostar-Citluk Road, an area called Koblovaca, started shooting at passing vehicles.

Shortly before 1500, a group of reservist newcomers arrived in the area and stepped up the shooting provocations by shooting at five cars in a row. One of the vehicles, driven by Antonio Mateskovic, the Secretary of the Mostar Branch of Croatian Hearth, received a direct hit. [passage omitted]

Tuzla-Zvornik Rail Link With Serbia Mined

LD2501121392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1144 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 25 (TANJUG)—The recently-inaugurated Tuzla-Zvornik railway line in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina was mined early this morning, chief dispatcher of Yugoslav Railways (JZ) Nenad Stankovic has reported. The line is the first direct link between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia, as Zvornik lies adjacent to the border between the two republics.

According to Stankovic, the line was mined and damaged along 60 cm of its length at Kalesija.

Experts of the republican police and the JZ have instituted an enquiry on the scene and are assessing the damage.

The 47-km line of extreme importance to Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia took 5.5 years and 4 billion dinars (roughly 3 million 330 thousand dollars) to build. Seventy percent of the funds was put up by firms in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The line was inaugurated for freight trains on January 18 and passenger traffic was due to begin shortly. The line was all the more important in view of the fact that the earlier link via Croatia has been disrupted due to the war in that break-away Yugoslav republic.

Repair-work on the line is due to begin this afternoon, it has been reported.

Croatian Community of Central Bosnia Founded

LD2601183192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] At 1400 today, in the Zenica-based King Tomislav Croatian Club, deputies to municipal assemblies, members of the Croatian Democratic Community, and presidents and members of municipal committees of the Croatian Democratic Community from Zenica, Zepce, Zavidovici and Maglaj passed a decision on the foundation of the Croatian Community of Central Bosnia. The Croatian Community of Central Bosnia will respect the democratically elected government in Bosnia-Hercegovina as long as its independence and sovereignty exist, according to a decision of the Community, carried by HINA [Croatian news agency]. Vjekoslav Barac was elected president of the Community.

Croatia

MiG Fighter Planes To Arrive From Germany

LD2701124592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1202 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, January 27 (TANJUG)—Thirty-eight Soviet-made MiG fighter planes have been placed at the disposal of the Croatian army, writes Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI today.

Calling on well-informed sources, the daily claims that these planes are at the former East German and Soviet Army Rostok military base in northern Germany.

The daily writes that according to the same sources, the Bonn government has ordered the German intelligence service to secretly prepare an airfield, planes and other equipment which will be placed at the disposal of president of the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman. The plan was drawn up in Wiesbaden and given the code name "alarm."

Calling on sources very close to the German intelligence service, VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes that "the plan 'alarm' is being realized during the last month," and the former East German planes, now covered with the Croatian red and white chequered coat of arms, will arrive at the airports in Rijeka, Pula and Zagreb soon.

President Tudjman recently appointed former Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) General Imre Agotic to the post of Croatian airforce commander.

The matter refers to 38 fighter planes, capable of attack, reconnaissance and intercepting actions. The pilots are mostly Croats, but there are also mercernaries, Germans, Italians, Poles and Hungarians, writes VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

German-Made Tanks Reportedly Seen in Slavonia

AU2401170792 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Branislav Bozic report from western Slavonia]

[Text] Although the complete and ununderstandable embargo on all information is still in effect in the Banja Luka Corps, one can learn from well-informed and reliable sources that there were no major incidents in western Slavonia today except for occasional sniper fire. Negotiations on the prisoner exchange between the Banja Luka Corps and the Croatian Army Command continued in Pakrac today with EC observers in attendance. These negotiations do not go easily, but since there is mutual interest in continuing, it is believed that a large number of prisoners on both sides will be exchanged.

In unofficial remarks last night, UN liaison officers displayed great optimism and belief that the truce will grow into a permanent peace. If everything has calmed

so much since our arrival, then it is certain that when the entire contingent of the blue berets arrives the war will stop altogether.

All this is very optimistic, but local chroniclers and analysts are concerned by the fact that there is a very evident regrouping of the Croatian forces along all fronts in western Slavonia. A particularly worrying fact reported by eyewitnesses is that German-made Tiger tanks [as heard] have been noticed in this region. We have tried to get confirmation for this in military circles, but we have received neither confirmation or denial of this report.

Forces Repel JNA Infantry Assault on Dubrovnik

LD2701093292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Excerpt] The most serious breach of the cease-fire to date occurred last night in the Dubrovnik region. At 0230 [0130 GMT], enemy forces attempted an infantry assault on Sustjepan but were repelled by Croatian forces. The assault was tried with one armored vehicle carrying an unknown number of enemy soldiers. Croatian forces destroyed the vehicle. Enemy losses are not yet known but one Croatian soldier was slightly injured.

The Croatian command considers this a planned action as evidenced by the rocket support given to the attackers from the direction of Stara Mokosica. [passage omitted]

Violation Reported on Pakrac Front

LD2601195692 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Forces of the army of occupation crudely violated the cease-fire agreement at the Pakrac front today. In the area of Dragovic, Ceric, and Brusnik infantry weapons fire was opened on members of the 127th brigade of the Croatian Army, who are guarding this area. Sporadic fire lasted from 0900 to 1030 this morning. According to a statement by Brigadier Miroslav Jerzecic, commander of the Ejelovar operations zone, the Croatian Army was forced to return fire in order to protect our positions. Fortunately, there were no casualties on our side. [passage omitted]

'Infantry Fire' Reported in Gospic Region

LD2501092692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] The Gospic region was quiet until the early hours of this morning when some infantry fire could be heard. From then on, no incidents have been reported. The EC monitors are to arrive in the area today.

There have been no reports of cease-fire violations on the Posavina, Pokuplje, and Banija fronts during the night.

Army Details Croatian Cease-Fire Violations

LD2501230892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2153 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Trebinje, January 25 (TANJUG)—The Croatian para-military formations on Saturday on several occasions violated ceasefire in the Dubrovnik area, as announced at the Yugoslav Army second operative group press center on Saturday night.

According to the Army reports, the Croatian forces opened machine-gun and sniper fire at 11:40 a.m. local time (10:40 GMT), and at 2 p.m. and 3:20 p.m. (local time) sniper fire on the Yugoslav Army positions.

The Army, according to the same source, "did not respond to the provocations", and had no wounded or killed.

Negotiations between the army and local authorities' representatives continued on Saturday on the normalization of the situation in the Dubrovnik and, a nearby region in the neighboring republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, at Mokosica, a place near Dubrovnik which is under Army control. [sentence as received]

It was agreed, as announced, that both sides take all the necessary measures to prevent provocations and maintain ceasefire.

An appeal was sent out from the talks for an exchange of all prisoners of both sides and investing maximum effort toward finding those listed as missing.

Croatian Forces on Army Cease-Fire Violations

LD2501142992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] According to the Croatian army command in the Zadar area, 15 mortar shells landed early this morning in Suhovare and Policnik. There are also reports that a number of shells fired from Smokovic during the night landed in Zemunik Doni. The inland Zadar region also a number of enemy provocations.

There has been no peace in the Dubrovnik area. Just after six yesterday afternoon the Solitude [Hotel] on the Lapad came under infantry fire from Losko Brdo and [indistinct name] and Gruz came also under fire. The Croatian army issued a strong protest to the Yugoslav Army command concerning these latest violations of the peace agreement.

Headquarters Protest Violations

LD2401144392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1300 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Finally, Croatian Army Headquarters here in Zagreb have sent a strong protest to the Yugoslav military concerning cease-fire violations. Besides the usual ground violations the Yugoslav Air Force has not been respecting its obligations under the Sarajevo Accord.

Yesterday afternoon a single Yugoslav warplane flew over Vinkovci, Dakovo, Slavonski Brod, Okucani, and Pozega.

Army helicopters were operating throughout the day in the Nasice area, as well as in Donji Miholjac, Podravska Slatina, and Orahovica.

Copies of the protest were sent to both EC and UN representatives.

Croats Say Many JNA Troops, Weapons in Nustar

AU2501174692 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Marjan Jerman report]

[Text] Last night there was no peace in the Vinkovci area, especially not in Nustar, as the Chetnik strongholds—villages of Mirkovci and Ceric—were shooting with anti-aircraft cannons and infantry weapons on Nustar. In their reconnoiters last night the Croatians again observed major moves by tanks and cannons of the Yugoslav Peoples Army [JNA] in this region. They said that there have not been that many arms and men there since the beginning of this war.

Frightful news is arriving from occupied Plitvice, that is to say, from the nearby villages. Supposedly the Chetniks, the reservists, and the Yugoslav Army, have committed a real massacre of the Croats who remained in those villages. The reports, which I was told are pretty accurate, claim that at the time of occupation some 4,000 Croats lived, that is to say, remained in this area. Now there are only about 100. The fact that the most extremist Serbs live in this region suggests that the Croats in those villages might have met the worst possible fate.

'Ustashas' Continue Attack on Army in Vinkovci

AU2401164892 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Mirko Stankovic report]

[Text] There is no peace among the Ustashas. On the territory of the Vinkovci commune, the Croatian paramilitary last night attacked positions of the defenders of the village of Mirkovci. The infantry took part in these attacks, which lasted almost the whole night with interruptions.

According to military sources, the enemy was using all infantry weapons and attacked from several directions. The Mirkovci territorials successfully repelled all attacks and the enemy was pushed back to its initial positions. However, after a certain lull, the Croatian paramilitary again attacked positions of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Territorial Defense at 0800 this morning. As I report, this attack is still going on. There is not yet any information on casualties.

Macedonia

Kljusev Rejects Creation of 'Mini-Yugoslavia'

AU2401161592 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Boris Djordjioski report]

[Text] Macedonia does not want to take part in any games connected with the creation of a mini-Yugoslavia, hence the government decided at the beginning of the week to withdraw all diplomatic and consular representatives. The parliament changed the Constitution in order to abolish the posts of republican delegates in the SFRY Assembly and Macedonia's representative in the SFRY Presidency. Therefore Macedonia has clearly indicated that it is remaining on its road to creating an independent state. This was stressed by Premier Nikola Kljusev today.

Replying to reporters' questions, Kljusev said that there can only be bilateral agreements and talks with Serbia and other republics regarding economic issues. He thinks that there is no need to officially reply to Serbia's initiative because the proposal for a meeting of the (?presidents) of the governments of four republics was made by telephone.

Judging by Kljusev's answers, Macedonia is not satisfied with the results of the two-day visit to Skopje by Albanian Foreign Minister Ilir Bocka. He was openly told that support for the autonomy of Albanians in Macedonia would not suit Albania either, and any kind of reciprocity where Macedonia would recognize the republic of Kosovo and Albania would then recognize an independent state of Macedonia is out of the question.

Regarding Greek endeavors to block international recognition of Macedonia until its name is changed, Kljusev stressed that the Macedonian Government had informed all members of the EC and 22 other countries that Greece is actually conducting a cold war against Macedonia. Kljusev described Greece's unexplained detention of 97 tonnes of medicine and children's food in the Piraeus port while Macedonia has been stricken by a flu epidemic as extremely inhumane behavior.

Government Rejects Army Withdrawal Method

LD2501183592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Skopje, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Macedonian Deputy Prime Minister Blaze Ristovski chaired a Macedonian Government session today in which problems with the Yugoslav People's Army's [JNA] withdrawal from republican territory were examined. Participants concluded that the Army's withdrawal is taking place without the republican authorities' mutual agreement.

The Information Ministry reports that the government concluded that the Army recently withdrew medical

equipment from Macedonia-based Army hospitals, medicine, food, and other articles as they withdrew military equipment even though, as the statement says, Macedonian citizens have been paying for the Army and its equipment for many years.

The statement says that the Macedonian Government concludes that the JNA should reconsider its decision on withdrawing medical equipment.

Macedonian Ethnic Problems Reported Decreasing

92BA0404A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 91 p 4

[Article by Dragan Nikolic: "At the Beginning Rejoicing"]

[Text] The dust has slowly settled after the Albanian referendum in Macedonia. The Macedonian press judges that that referendum caused "much ado about nothing," the American congressman Diogardi, who came as an observer, declared that the referendum was "like a poll" and that the position of Albanians in Macedonia is such that he has given up his intention to propose a resolution on the Albanians in Macedonia to the American Congress. Dr. Nikola Kljusev, Macedonian prime minister, is of the opinion that the Albanian referendum had no legal consequences whatsoever, while Dr. Blaze Ristovski, deputy prime minister, believes that in western Macedonia there will be no ethnic conflicts nor a conflict between republic authorities and advocates of autonomy.

It is noticeable, however, that Macedonians in western Macedonia are becoming more concerned and that the "public opinion referendum" cooled off interethnic relations in that part of Macedonia. It is said that the most nationalist and pro-Milosevic Macedonian parties are trying to use that in order to build their rating through anti-Albanian feeling. Also, western Macedonia could be swept by a wave of "village referendums," as occurred in the village Vevcani on the Albanian border.

Experiment With No Results

The experiment of the leaders of the Albanian parties has not yielded the expected results because it has been demonstrated that the Albanians were not altogether certain that they should cast their vote for some new "wild and bloody krajina" and turn their community life into a battlefield. It is anticipated that the Albanians will soften their radicalism, and the Macedonian government will soften its attitude toward their demands. No later than in one month's time a "formula for life together" will be called for in the Macedonian parliament on the basis of a government analysis. The Macedonians are criticizing the Macedonian government for not having been more vigorous in recognizing the election results in Gostivar and Tetovo. It is also said to be incomprehensible that two Macedonian ministers of education have submitted their resignations because of the "trivial keeping of school records" and because the government did not print the census sheets in the Albanian language as well, which is why the Albanians boycotted the census. The Albanian deputies are saying that equality cannot be achieved overnight, but that words can be "well-chosen" in the parliament and in journalistic commentary when Albanians are mentioned. Signs of relaxation on both sides are on the horizon. It is possible, however, that vacillation within the Albanian parties and indeed even of the Albanian population concerning strategy and objectives will be used for a "hard Macedonian reprisal," which could worsen the situation in western Macedonia.

In any case, the assessment of leaders of the Albanian parties is that the referendum succeeded, but it is not clear what steps they will take after the "successful referendum," and peace in western Macedonia also depends on that. However, what is beyond dispute and what at this moment is essential to Macedonia, is that neither that referendum nor the activities of neighboring Greece will postpone its international recognition, which actually was the reason for the evident Macedonian nervousness. There is every prospect that in coming days Macedonia will not be caught up in ethnic unrest, but rather, on the contrary, in a wave of celebration because an age-old aspiration has been attained—obtaining an internationally recognized sovereign and independent state. There are predictions, however, that the rejoicing will be short-lived. In order to protect itself from the "murderer of the dinar," Macedonia will immediately introduce its own coupon in spite of the fear that it will find itself in economic isolation and isolation from civilization when the coupon is not recognized in the constellation of similar coupons of other sovereign and independent states that have been recognized. Macedonian economists say that Macedonia needs between $10 and $15 billion in aid in order to achieve its economic independence, without which political independence is made of paper. The hope is being nurtured that a patron can be found, but there are also fears that Macedonia might become that patron's subsidiary.

Macedonia wants to remain close to Europe, but not to be far from America either, Stojan Andov, president of the Macedonian Assembly, said a few days ago. He also said that Macedonia's politics differ significantly from the politics of Croatia. Croatia is excessively bound up with the European option, that is, with its German variant. We are not far from that variant, but neither are we so close to it that we would be far from the American visions, he said.

Stojan Andov is the first Macedonian politician who has defined Macedonia's future place as being neither excessively close to Europe nor excessively far from America, which is in accord with the definition of official Macedonian policy of not being excessively far from or excessively close to any of its neighbors. However, its endeavor to be sovereign and independent is threatened by two internal Macedonian political options: According to one, it should remain with those that have been its

allies up to now, thanks to whom it obtained its statehood half a decade ago, while according to the other it should change allies and move closer to the bloc which lost the last war. To maintain the time-tested Morava-Vardar connection or to rapidly develop the Durresi-Skopje-Sofia "transversal"? To retain its present alphabet, which is inevitably reminiscent of Vuk's, or to introduce the Bulgarian alphabet? To stick with Serbia or to set itself off from Serbia by barbed wire and completely erase the borders with Bulgaria, and then Albanian autonomy in western Macedonia and southern Serbia (it has been announced that an Albanian referendum will be held there as well) would be the best "buffer" between Serbia and Macedonia.

Ghosts of the Past in the Balkans

In these gloomy visions of Macedonian and Albanian extremists, the "expanded Albania" would be an Italian subsidiary and "expanded Bulgaria" would be a German subsidiary, and then in the foreseeable future Thessalonica would be under the control of that subsidiary with the help of the "Slavic Macedonian population." The Macedonian extremists, incidentally, have for a long time written on Skopje fences "Thessalonica Is Ours," and it has been pronounced in their congresses that the borders with Serbia would be closed, while those toward Bulgaria and Greece would fall like a "Berlin wall in the Balkans." They have never made it a secret that they are allies of Zagreb, Vienna, and Bonn which has revived reminiscences of the New Order and the division of Macedonia in World War II.

Kiro Gligorov declared the other evening in the Macedonian parliament that it is difficult to get free of the ghosts of the past in the Balkans, and Vasil Tupurkovski answered the question of this reporter to the effect that "a scenario from the past" cannot be applied today because Germany is not today what it was in 1938. Nor is Europe today what it was then, nor, for that matter, is America turned in upon itself as it was on the eve of the last two world wars, but, on the contrary, is actively involved in events in Europe and in the Balkans. An independent and democratic Macedonia, apart from "dead global scenarios," cannot be a danger to any neighbor. It is thought that neighboring Greece knows that an independent Macedonia cannot threaten a member of the EC and NATO, but that its objective is to gain a "diplomatic advantage," so that independent Macedonia does not raise the issue of the human and ethnic rights of the Macedonians in neighboring Greece, which then would give it room to remove the "Macedonian question" from the agenda once and for all. Sovereign Macedonia has for its part done something which none of the "nonethnic" nor "ethnic" Yugoslav governments has done: In the Constitution, it has renounced both territorial claims and intervention in the internal affairs of Greece. In spite of that, Greece unexpectedly closed the border to Macedonians and Macedonian goods, which could be only a sign that the Greeks are more afraid of the "ghosts of the past" than of the Macedonians themselves.

[Box, p 4]

Eight Countries for Macedonia

Kiro Gligorov's special emissary Vasil Tupurkovski at once, as soon as the parliament confirmed that status, set out into the world to fight for recognition of a sovereign and independent Macedonian state. Macedonian reporters traveling with him have already reported from Vienna that the Austrian chancellor Franz Vranitzky told Tupurkovski that the "question of Macedonia's recognition is a reality," while the Italian Foreign Minister De Michelis told him by telephone that Italy would recognize Macedonia on Thursday. Alois Mock, Austrian foreign minister, said that Austria, after it received the complete documentation of the arbitration commission, would in coming days conduct the procedure of recognizing Macedonia. Vasil Tupurkovski announced to reporters in Vienna that the position of the arbitration commission concerning Macedonia is favorable and that it did not find serious impediments to its international recognition. The Greek press is writing that the United States is ready to recognize Macedonia under its present name, and Gligorov will be in Washington this coming Monday. Turkish officials have informed Macedonian reporters that the question of recognition of Macedonia has never been in dispute. Kiro Gligorov has declared that several states have expressed readiness to recognize Macedonia. They are neighboring Bulgaria, and then Germany, Austria, Turkey, Poland, the Vatican, and, of course, Slovenia and Croatia, which will also recognize Macedonia.

Serbia

Offical Says War 'Alternative' to UN Plan

LD2401200792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1816 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Novi Sad, Jan 23 (TANJUG)—Secretary-general of Serbia's ruling Socialist Party (SPS) Petar Skundric today lent support to the UN peace plan for Yugoslavia, assessing that war was the alternative to the plan.

He told a session of the SPS leadership in the Serbian Province of Vojvodina today that this would no longer be a war against weak Croatia, which has won not one battle so far, but also against the forces such as Germany which supports Croatia. This implies additional destruction and more casualties, Skundric added.

Germany was the first country in the world to recognize the secessionist Yugoslav Republic Croatia late last year. Germany is believed to have decisively influenced that all the EC members take the same move, although Badinter's Arbitration Commission assessed that Croatia does not meet the conditions required for international recongition. Skundric said Serbs in Croatia, who in a referendum voted to remain in Yugoslavia and

outside Croatia, had achieved those goals in an imposed war and through unselfish help of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and Serbia.

Commenting the situation in the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which has been proclaimed in the predominantly Serb-populated territories within Croatia's [words indistinct], Skundric said "Croats will not exercise their authority over these territories." All speculations about a possible JNA withdrawal from Krajina are groundless, Skundric set out. President of the Republic of Serbian Krajina Milan Babic does not accept the UN peace plan, envisaging the withdrawal of all armed formations and deployment of "the blue helmets" according to the "ink blots" principle deep into the Serb-populated territories. Babic believes that the plan does not provide sufficient guarantees for the security of the Serbian population and proposes that "the blue helmets" be instead deployed along the line of conflict between the two warring sides.

In an interview published in the Belgrade daily BORBA today, Yugoslav Presidency President Branko Kostic specified that the JNA would pull out only after a UN peace-keeping force is deployed.

Radical Party Leader Against EC 'Interference'

LD2401175192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1303 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 24 (TANJUG)—Leader of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) Vojislav Seselj has said that Serbia should not have accepted the European Community's interference in the Yugoslav crisis, because Yugoslavia is not an E.C. member.

Seselj said in an interview to the Belgrade weekly NIN that Yugoslavia's crucial mistake was to allow three E.C. ministers to attend a session of the Yugoslav presidency last June, at which Stipe Mesic of Croatia was elected president of the body, after presidency members who opposed his election bowed to pressure exerted by the three ministers.

"Had we involved the United Nations from the very beginning, everything would have come out differently because the U.N. is guided by the principles of law and justice, while the E.C. is guided exclusively by the principle of interest," Seselj said.

He maintains that the recognition of the breakaway Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Slovenia as independent states is favourable for Serbia, because it has provoked concern among a number of world powers—the United States, Russia, China.

"Serbia is not as alone today as it was last summer—the situation is different now. Politicians in France, England and some other countries have a guilty conscience because of what was done, and even German and Italian diplomats are having seconds thoughts about it," Seselj said.

Urges Inclusion of Serbian Krajina

LD2401171192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1751 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 23 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Radical Party (SRS) rejects any possibility of the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina not being included in a future common state, as SRS leader Vojislav Seselj told a news conference today. Seselj said the SRS respected the will of the Serbian people in Krajina not to remain within Croatia under any conditions, even if put under international guardianship which could be tolerated only if Krajina is part of a future common state.

The SRS holds that there is a big delay in a project of the third Yugoslavia or a Serbian state which would include all the Serb-populated territories. The party demands that the constitutional assembly should meet urgently. Seselj underscored that the Yugoslav Republic Bosnia-Hercegovina could not be Yugoslavia's Federal unit if the Moslems did not accept to live in a common state. In this case, he said, Bosnia- Hercegovina should be divided between the Serbs and Croats, and Moslems could form their own state only in Bosnia-Hercegovina's parts where they constitute the majority.

Bosnia-Hercegovina is the central Yugoslav Republic, populated by the three constituent peoples—Moslems (44 percent), Serbs (31 percent) and Croats (17 percent). The SRS demands that now that the UN officers arrived, the EC observers should imediately withdraw because they demonstrated partiality and non-objectivity towards the Serbian people, as Seselj set out.

Around 50 UN liaison officers arrived in Yugoslavia last week, under a decision of the UN Security Council. They are to make preparations for the deployment of the "the blue helmets" in the crisis areas of the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, if the ceasefire signed in Sarajevo on January 2 holds, withdraw from the territories populated mostly by Serbs before a political solution for their future had been found.

Micunovic said he feared that, if "blue helmets" were to withdraw before the solution had been reached, the army's return to the areas populated by Serbs might be seen as an aggression on Croatia.

Vance proposed that "blue helmets" be deployed in Croatia on an "ink-blot" principle. Milan Babic, the leader of the Republic of Serb Krajina, opposed the plan and insisted that the troops be deployed along the line of separation between Krajina and Croatia.